THE INFLUENCE OF PLAUTUS ON THE COMEDIES OF BEN JONSON

ELEANOR P. LUMLEY

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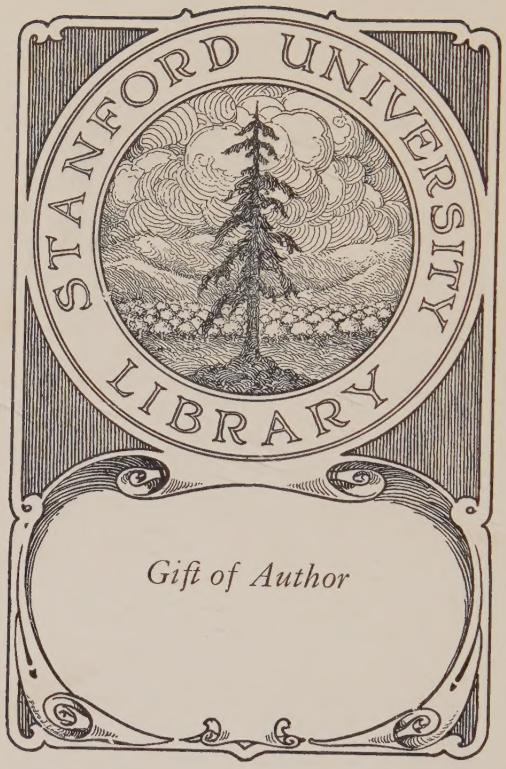
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THE INFLUENCE OF PLAUTUS

ON THE

COMEDIES OF BEN JONSON

A THESIS

FOR THE

DOCTORATE IN PHILOSOPHY

BY

ELEANOR P. LUMLEY

Approved by the Faculty of the Graduate School of the New York University, 1900

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE abbreviations selected for the titles of the Plautine comedies are those adopted by Ritschl, Studemund and Goetz. The edition of Plautus from which extracts are taken, and to which reference is made, including the *Testimonia Veterum* prefixed to the edition, is that from the recension by George Goetz and Friderick Schoell, 1898.

The value of this dissertation will be that it is the first systematic attempt in this direction — not that it exhausts the subject, nor that the category of references is complete. As Jonson followed Plautus freely, much of the influence is general or indirect, and can be indicated only by reference and inference. Striking resemblances — where the words correspond, or where the spirit or idea is similar — are regarded as *direct* influence, and have been cited at length.

The use of the Library at Harvard University, and of the Library at Columbia University, was kindly granted me. Among the authorities consulted, are the commentaries on the Plautine plays, Mr. von Reinhardstoettner's work on Plautus, the publications on Ben Jonson by Mr. Algernon Swinburne, Professor Felix E. Schelling and Mr. J. A. Symonds ; and various histories of Roman Literature, chiefly that by Wilhelm Sigmund Teuffel.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my instructors, Dr. Francis H. Stoddard, of the New York University ; Dr. Alfred Gudeman and Professor Felix

E. Schelling, Ph.D., of the University of Pennsylvania; and especially to Dr. Ernest G. Sihler, of the New York University, who has read the work in proof-sheets and given me the advantage of his scholarly criticisms.

E. P. L.

New York City, June, 1900.

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF THE PLAUTINE COMEDIES.

Am.:	Amphitruo,	Mn.:	Menaechmi,
As.:	Asinaria,	Mi.:	Miles Gloriosus,
Au.:	Aulularia,	Mr.:	Mercator,
Cp.:	Captivi,	Ps.:	Pseudolus,
Cu.:	Curculio,	Po.:	Poenulus,
Cs.:	Casina,	Pe.:	Persa,
Ci.:	Cistellaria,	R.:	Rudens,
E.:	Epidicus,	S.:	Stichus,
B.:	Bacchides,	Ti.:	Trinummus,
Mo.:	Mostellaria,	Tu.:	Truculentus,

V.: Vidularia.

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THE INFLUENCE OF PLAUTUS ON THE COMEDIES OF BEN JONSON.

INTRODUCTION.

NOT alone in painting and sculpture, but in literary art as well, aspirants for fame in succeeding generations show more or less dependence upon the old masters. When we compare closely the products of literature in the evolutionary stages, we not infrequently find that the later or modern stands in relation to the earlier or ancient as a child to a parent; that the features of the one may be traced in the lineaments of the other. Not only is this true with regard to points of special similarity, but we find that the general style of the later writer has frequently been acquired, perhaps unconsciously, from a close study of the characteristics of an older model.

Perhaps, with all his shortcomings, no ancient writer has thus served as a model so generally, or has had so many successful imitators among poets as Plautus.[1] His genius, centuries after his language had become obsolete, left its impress upon the literature of the nations.[2] The researches[3] of Mr. Karl von Reinhardstoettner show that this influence has been felt in France, Germany, England. Also Italy, Spain, Por-

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, spätere Bearbeitung plautinischer. Lustspiele, Beitr. z. Vgl. Lit.-Gesch., Lpz. 1886, etc. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

tugal, Holland, Denmark, Hungary, Sweden, furnish authors who have written plays founded in a greater or less degree on the comedies of Plautus.[1] In France, among others Rotrou, Molière, Regnard and Picard; in England, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Dryden, Fielding, Addison and others of less celebrity availed themselves of plots, scenes and hints suggested by the old Latin dramatist.

There must be some reason for this general imitation of the Plautine comedies, some merit in the plays themselves. That a writer of Ben Jonson's acknowledged classical tastes and tendencies[2] should turn to the greatest comedian the ancient Roman world could produce for assistance,[3] is not strange; but it is remarkable that he should have made direct adaptation of portions of the Plautine comedies in various instances, and that other authors also, as Shakespeare and Fielding, who were not classicists naturally, should turn to Plautus for ideas. This can be accounted for by establishing three facts, *i. e.*: 1, that the Plautine comedies were highly esteemed and popular; 2, that the literary style of Plautus was such as to appeal directly to the people; 3, that these comedies by continued presentation on the stage had grown to be familiar to the public. As such proof is material and precedent to any statement of direct influence which Plautus may have had on Ben Jonson's comedies, it will be advantageous to consider these questions.

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Schelling, Felix E., Ben Jonson and the Classical School, and *Ibid.*, Jonson's Timber or Discoveries Made upon Men and Matter.

[3] Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Ben Jonson, 1889. Cf. Symonds, J. A., Shakespeare's Predecessors. English Worthies, Ben Jonson, 1888.

I.

THAT THE PLAUTINE COMEDIES WERE HIGHLY ESTEEMED AND POPULAR.

FROM the date of his first comedy until his death, in 184 B.C.,[1] Plautus produced plays, and continued the undisputed favorite of the public;[2] and after his death, these comedies did not cease to excite the admiration of educated Romans.

"After the death of Terence," (in 159 B.C.,) says Mommsen, "new pieces were no longer performed. That the public (still in the Sullan Age) expected to see such appears from the reproductions—belonging to this epoch — of Plautine comedies with the titles and names of the persons altered, with reference to which the managers well added that it was better to see *a good old piece* than *a bad new one*. From this the step was not great to that entire surrender of the stage to the dead poets, which we find in the Ciceronian Age."[3]

There is evidence that Plautus held a high place in the estimation of the ancient Romans,[4] from the references to him extending from Terence,[5] Varro[6] and

[1] Cicero, Brut., XV, 60. Goetz and Schoell, Plautus, 1898. *Testimonia Veterum*, XXX.

[2] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Warr, Geo. C. W. (M.A.), 1891–2, I, p. 145.

[3] Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Vol. IV, p. 688, ed. 1894.

[4] Horace, Art. Poet., 263 *sq.* *Testimonia Veterum*, LXV.

[5] Terence, Eunuchus, Prol. v. 25. Adelphoi, Prol. v. 6 *sq.* *Testimonia Veterum*, XXXVI, XXXVII.

[6] Varro, Apud Charisium, II, p. 241, 27 Keil.

Cicero,[1] down to the Christian writers ;[2] and from the fact that his plays held their place so long upon the stage.[3] Sedigitus, in A. Gellius,[4] has given to Caecilius Statius the first, to Plautus the second, and to Terence the sixth place among the Roman comic poets. The pun, at l. 769 *sq.* *Mostellaria*, referring to his birthplace would seem to indicate that, at the time the *Mostellaria* was written, Plautus was already a well-known writer.

Varro, a very subtle judge of writers and poets,[5] praises him for his dialogue : *In argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ethesin Terentius, in sermonibus Plautus.*[6] Moreover, Varro bears witness that Plautus, in the elegance and virtue of his discourse, was especially distinguished, and in Quintilian[7] we read that Varro, following the opinion of his teacher, Aelius Stilo, the grammarian, said : *Si latine loqui uellent, Musas Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse.*

The purity of his Latin diction, his lively and sparkling wit and the comic style of his dialogue were particularly celebrated by these early writers. The public admired Plautus heartily, entered fully into his humor

[1] Cicero, De Or., III, 12, 44 *sq.* *Ex persona Crassi.* *Testimonia Veterum*, LX.

[2] Rufinus, In Hieronymum, II, 8, 10 t. II, p. 639 *sqq.* Vall. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXXXI.

[3] Mommsen, Hist of Rome, ed. 1894.

[4] Volcacius Sedigitus, Apud Gellium, N. A., XV, 24. *Testimonia Veterum*, LV.

[5] Cic. Brut., XV, 60. *Testimonia Veterum*, XXX. Cf. Wolff, Godofr. Aug. B., *Prolegomena ad Plauti Aulularium*, 1836.

[6] Varro, Apud Nonium, p. 374, 5 M. *Testimonia Veterum*, LVI.

[7] Quintilianus, Inst. Or., X, 1, 99. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXVIII.

and burst into laughter at the smart retorts and neat quibbles of his characters. Nor was this an ephemeral reputation, for whole generations have given him their applause. Aulus Gellius calls Plautus, *uerborum Latinorum elegantissimus*[1]; praises him in the highest terms and speaks of him as, *homo linguae atque elegantiae in uerbis Latinae princeps*[2]; and again as, *linguae Latinae decus.*[3] This same writer has given an account of an epitaph[4] which Plautus composed for his own tomb, which expresses a bold consciousness of his powers, although it renders him liable to the imputation of vanity.

"In the time of Cicero," says Mommsen, "the tragedies of Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius, and the comedies of Plautus, were those chiefly produced. The latter in the previous period had been supplanted by the more tasteful but in point of comic vigor far inferior Terence, and dramatic art and antiquarian scholarship, represented by Varro,[5] co-operated to procure for him a resurrection similar to that which Shakespeare experienced at the hands of Garrick and Johnson."[6] Cicero is extravagant in his praise of Plautus,[7] for he couples his name with the writers of Attic comedy, and declares their wit *elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum: quo genere non modo Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philoso-*

[1] Gellius, N. A., I, 7, 17. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXXII.
[2] *Ibid.*, VI (VII), 17, 4. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXXI.
[3] *Ibid.*, XIX, 8, 6. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXXIII.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 24, 1, 3. *Testimonia Veterum*, LIII.
[5] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 145.
[6] Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Vol. IV, p. 693. Ed. 1894.
[7] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by G. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 142. Cf. Tr. by Wm. Wagner, p. 123.

phorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt multaque multorum facete dicta, ut ea quae a sene Catone conlecta sunt, quae uocant ἀποφθέγματα.[1] And in many instances he shows that he was greatly delighted with the ancient poet. In one place he informs us that Plautus himself thought very highly of his Pseudolus and Truculentus, and that they were the product of his old age : *quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naeuius, quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo.*[2]

In the Augustan period,[3] the admirers of the archaic poets praised Plautus for his vivacity and rapidity,[4] for which they compared him to Epicharmus : *Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi.*[5] However, even in the time of Augustus, as Greek learning began to be more sought after, Plautus began to be esteemed less highly.[6] It is true that Varro and Cicero were of one opinion in regard to Plautus, but Horace held a view entirely adverse. Horace and Cicero judged the old Roman comedian, each according to his own age. There are forty-three years between the two, and either the general opinion of Plautus had undergone a change, or Horace was not a correct judge, for Cicero, we know, was a most excellent master of literature and language. In the passage referred to,[7] we

[1] Cicero, De Officiis, I, 29, 104. *Testimonia Veterum*, LIX.

[2] *Ibid.*, Cat. mai. de sen., XIV, 50: *Testimonia Veterum*, XXVIII.

[3] Wolff, Godofr. Aug., Prolegomena ad Plauti Aululariam, 1836.

[4] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 142.

[5] Horace, Epistles, II, 1, 58. *Testimonia Veterum*, LVII.

[6] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 144.

[7] Horace, Epistles, II, 1, 55 *sqq*. *Testimonia Veterum*, LVII.

perceive that the satiric poet felt keenly the great popularity of Plautus. Again in the Ars Poetica, we find the sentiment expressed which amounts almost to one of envy.

Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter,
Et noua fictaque nuper habebunt uerba fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta. quid autem
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
Vergilio Varioque? ego cur, adquirere pauca
Si possum, inuideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
Sermonem patrium ditauerit et noua rerum
Nomina protulerit? licuit semperque licebit
Signatum praesente nota producere nomen.[1]

This was a severe blow to the memory of Plautus, a blow, that, although it does not appear to have injured his reputation among the Romans, has been felt more among the moderns than the praises of Cicero or of Varro, and it is, perhaps, one of the reasons why his plays are not more generally read.[2] Horace makes complaint[3] of the slip-shod metres, his abuse of comic art and the stock characters of the Plautine comedies. "For Plautus," he says:

Gestit nummum in loculos demittere. post hoc
Securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.[4]

The ancient comedian appears also to have been the favorite author in the early Christian era, and during the later Middle Ages. He was the comfort and delight of theologians and philosophers, for Eusebius,

[1] Horace, Art. Poet., 50 *sqq.* *Testimonia Veterum*, LXIII.
[2] Foreign Quarterly Review, Vol. 31, p. 199.
[3] Horace, Art. Poet., 263 *sqq.* *Testimonia Veterum*, LXV.
[4] *Ibid.*, Epist., II, 1, 175, 176. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXIV.

Rufinus,[1] Jerome,[2] Luther and many others read and found solace in his plays. Thus amid all the changes of the centuries of Roman history, we find the Plautine comedies retaining their popularity. The ticket of admission to a representation of the Casina, which is reputed to have been found amid the ruins of Pompeii, would show that this play was acted shortly before A.D. 79. And according to Arnobius, the *Amphitruo* was acted as late as the close of the third century after Christ. Macrobius, who lived to the early part of the fifth century,[3] writing of Plautus, ranks him with Cicero: *duos quos eloquentissimos antiqua aetas tulit, comicum Plautum et oratorem Tullium, eos ambos etiam ad jocorum uenustatem ceteris praestitisse.*[4]

During the Middle Ages we find little reference to our comedian,[5] for the reason that his plays were lost during this period, and were not found until 1428–9.[6] Mr. Von Reinhardstoettner records the following: "Albrecht von Eybe freute sich, mit etwas Neuem auftreten zu können. In seiner Vorrede zur Bacchis heisst es: 'Plautus der poeta . . . hat gemacht VIII bücher in latein, die man gemaincklich hat, aber dieses (die

[1] Rufinus, In Hieronymum, II, 8, 10 t. II, p. 639 *sqq.* Vall. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXXXI.

[2] Hieronymus, Ad Eustochium, XXII, 30 t. I, p. 115 Vall. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXXX.

[3] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1892. Vol. II, p. 433.

[4] Macrobius, Saturn., II, 1, 10. *Testimonia Veterum*, XXXV.

[5] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891. Vol. I, p. 146.

[6] Vgl. Dr. Georg Voigkt, Die Wiederbelebung des Klassischen Altertums oder das erste. Jahrhundert des Humanismus. Berlin, Reimer (1859), S. 140.

Bacchides) hernach geschriben püchlin mit sampt andren aylffen, die sein lange zeyt wol bey *fünff hundert jaren oder mer verlorn* und verporgen gewesen, *und neylich im Concilio zu Basel wider gefunden*, also dz die materi wider neyw ist bey gelerten und ungelerten, und darumb desteer lustiger und girlicher zu lesen.'" [1] And, "Acht seiner Stücke . . . waren stets bekannt; die übrigen fand Nikolaus von Trier um das Jahr 1428 und 1429.[2] Die Vidularia ging erst im Mittelalter verloren."[3]

Plautus was also unknown to Hrotswitha von Gandersheim, the imitator of Terence, who lived about 960.[4]

A reason why the Plautine comedies were brought practically into forgetfulness up to the end of the fourteenth century is assigned by Mr. von Reinhardstoettner: "Diese fünfhundert zwei und dreissig Verse (by Vital de Blois [5]) umfassende Dichtung, in ziemlich ungelenkem Latein geschrieben, jedoch ausgezeichnet durch satirische Schärfe, brachte bis zum Ende des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts die plautinische Komödie förmlich in Vergessenheit.[6] Die Schriftsteller des dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts sind reich an Anspielungen und Zitaten aus Vitals Amphitryon, und von seiner grossen Beliebtheit zeugen zahlreiche Handschriften." [7] But though the *Geta* made one forget Plautus, soon the triumph of scholasticism, of the mysteries and of the moralities made France forget Geta. Chassang, l.

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 88.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19, and Note 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[4] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 146.
[5] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 124.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 128, and Note 2.

c. p. 33. "Le Géta avait fait oublier Plaute : bientôt le triomphe de la scholastique, des mystères, des moralités fit oublier en France le Géta." [1]

When the drama was struggling to emerge at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the plays of Plautus were the *most popular sources*, and *furnished the main stream* in which the various sources of Miracle Plays, Mysteries and Moralities were to unite.[2] Plautus, more than any other author, was the mold in which the modern drama was to harden down into a definite and popular form. When Lucrezia Borgia went to Ferrara, in 1502, as the bride of Alfonso d' Este,[3] Duke Ercole I. gave a marriage entertainment of extraordinary splendor to the young couple. It was spread out over five days, and each night a different comedy by Plautus was presented, embellished with musical interludes and ballets on classical and allegorical subjects. "Plautus with a *ballet* was a species of comedy that could have found no place at the *Globe* or the *Blackfriars*." [4] These comedies were put on the Italian stage at this time with picturesque brilliancy, and at the court of Ferrara, a comedy was never given without its *ballet*, serving as interludes between the acts of the Plautine dramas. When the *Amphitruo* was represented in 1491, at the marriage of Anna Sforza—the pantomimic performance between the acts was magnificent.[5] But

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 138, and Note 1.

[2] Ward, A. A., O. S., 146.

[3] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 146.

[4] Burckhardt, I., Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien, ed. 1885. Cf. Scott, M. A., Elizabethan Translations from the Italian. Mod. Eng. Ass. Pub., 1896.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. IV.

it was not only with the secular writers and the society world that this ancient comedian found favor. For that most learned representative of Christianity and accomplished writer,[1] Hieronymus, had written to Eustochius : *post noctium crebras uigilias, post lacrimas, quas mihi praeteritorum recordatio peccatorum ex imis uisceribus eruebat, Plautus sumebatur in manus.*[2] And, if we take up the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, we find nearly every page filled with Plautine expressions and phrases. Also, when Luther, in 1508, entered the monastery of Erfurt, Plautus and Vergil, only, of the profane writers, were his chosen companions.

Nearly a hundred years later, Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, or Wits' Treasury (1598), the date of Ben Jonson's first play, *Every Man in His Humour*, writes : "As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the *best* for comedy and tragedy among the Latins, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage." (*Cf. Hamlet.*[3]) The *imitation* of some of his plays by the best modern poets shows that the judgment of the ancient and more modern critics is the same.[4] This popularity as late as the early years of the eighteenth century is shown by the following description by Lady Mary Wortley Montague, in a letter to Pope, of a representation of an *Amphitruo* in Vienna, in 1716: "They have but one play house, where I had

[1] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1892, II, p. 407.

[2] Hieronymus, Ad Eustochium, XXII, 30 t. I, p. 115 Vall. *Testimonia Veterum*, LXXX.

[3] Shakespeare, Wm., "Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light," *Hamlet*, A. II, s. 2.

[4] Harrington, C. S., Titi Macci Plauti Captivi, Trinummus et Rudens. The Metres of Plautus, Preface.

a curiosity to go to a German comedy, and was very glad it happened to be the story of Amphitruo."

The great fame of Plautus is but slightly reflected in our day. The position he now holds is quite different from what it was but three centuries ago. No author has had so marked a fall from a lofty position among writers. He is at present rarely quoted, seldom mentioned and frequently underrated. The cause of this decadence in popularity is due in part to the development of the novel and the appearance of the Shakespearian plays. Plautus once held the position which Shakespeare now holds; yet he is not superseded, for he does not rank with Shakespeare, but with Ben Jonson and Molière. Though an author of great merit, yet, engaged on the same subjects which Shakespeare has made his own, and where the latter has done his work so much better, the older comedian has fallen into oblivion — a fate quite undeserved.

Ben Jonson, in his eulogy on Shakespeare, has summed up the effect of the latter on the reputation of the old dramatists, thus:

> "The merry Greek, tart Aristophanes,
> Neat Terence, *witty Plautus*, now not please;
> But antiquated and deserted lie,
> As they were not of nature's family."

II.

THAT THE LITERARY STYLE OF PLAUTUS WAS SUCH AS WOULD APPEAL DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE.

THERE is a theory, generally conceded, that the comedies of Plautus and Terence, being reproductions from the Greek, display little originality of conception.[1] Plautus brought upon the Roman stage the fictitious, but typical characters which were the creations of the Greek New Comedy writers during the period 320–250 B.C.[2] It avails little, however, for practical purposes that these comedies are not original with Plautus, since we have lost the whole of the Greek New Comedy,[3] and are in possession of the best Latin comedies founded on them, *i. e.*, the six assigned to Terence,[4] and twenty of the twenty-one selected by Varro as the genuine plays of Plautus.[5]

It would be impossible, from the fragments of the New Comedy which we possess, to form a proper judgment regarding the poetical character of the author,[6]

[1] Russell, Isaac Franklin, D.C.L., LL.D., Outline Study of Law, 1900, p. 96.

[2] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, M.A., 1891, I, p. 21.

[3] Freeman, C. E. and Sloman, Rev. A., Titi Macci Plauti Trinummus, Introd., 1896.

[4] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, M.A., 1891, I, p. 159.

[5] Gellius, N. A., III, 3, 14 *sqq*. *Testimonia Veterum*, XXI.

[6] Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Vol. II, p. 521, 1894.

or to estimate the amount of originality which belongs to any single play.[1] Mommsen says: "Those portions which can with certainty be traced to the translator are, to say the least, mediocre; but they enable us to understand why Plautus came to be and continued the true popular poet of Rome, and the true mainstay of the Roman stage, and why even after the passing away of the Roman world, the theatre has repeatedly reverted to his plays."[2] The Plautine comedies are neither original, nor, yet, simple and rigid translations,[3] and no single play is strictly Greek. Their exact position is somewhat difficult to determine. Just as plays still occupy the French and English stage, the plots of which are derived from the Plautine comedies, in the same way, not only the plots of these dramas, but many expressions used by the characters may be traced to their Attic sources.[4] By introducing Roman ideas he has given to the delicate Attic comedies of Menander,[5] and to the less delicate of Philemon[6] and Diphilus,[7] a distinctive Roman or Italian coloring. It is in his power of transmuting, not merely of verbally translating, that the originality of Plautus consists.[8] He was himself so full of his own ideas, that he constantly

[1] Freeman, C. E. and Sloman, Rev. A., Titi Macci Plauti Trinummus, Introd., 1896.

[2] Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Vol. II, p. 521, 1894.

[3] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, M.A., 1891, I, p. 141.

[4] Fortnightly Review, 7, p. 661.

[5] *Testimonia Veterum*, XIV. Cf. Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit., I, pp. 137, 139.

[6] Prologus Mercatoris, v. 5 *sq.* *Testimonia Veterum*, XL.

[7] Prologus Casinae, v. 31 *sqq.* *Testimonia Veterum*, XXXVIII.

[8] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, Vol. I, p. 141.

deserts his originals ; and, while no match for his Greek models,[1] he understands, in the point of language, to give new force, freshness, soundness. In all these comedies, Plautus always proves himself an original genius, in spite of foreign sources, independent as a master in art and form ; inventive and original, with his own wit, which is frequently coarse, but not frequently stale.[2] "In nationalizing and localizing foreign material," says Mr. Karl von Reinhardstoettner, "Plautus excels Terence."[3] However Plautus may have learned Greek, his plays give little indication that he knew the literature otherwise, and without the training he could neither feel nor represent the style of his Greek originals.

On the other hand, the types of character, the plots, and situations of the New Comedy are in their nature cosmopolitan. The interest lies in the incidents of domestic life, and not in the representation of contemporary history.[4] The monotony of plot, enlivened by comic incidents, the love intrigues, the constant recurrence of stock characters—so familiar to us in Ben Jonson's comedies—mark each Plautine play as belonging to the Comoedia Palliata,[5] *i. e.*, the characters ostensibly Greek, actors wearing the native costume, and the scene laid in some Greek town.[6] In this the origi-

[1] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, Vol. I, p. 141.

[2] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus. (Cf. *Ibid.* (7)).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Freeman, C. E. and Sloman, Rev. A., Titi Macci Plauti Trinummus, Introd., 1896.

[5] Harrington, C. S., Preface to his Titi Macci Plauti Captivi, Trinummus et Rudens.

[6] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 19.

nal presented slight obstacles to the translator. The characters frequently retain their Greek names, and we meet with numerous allusions to Greek myths and Greek contemporary history. In matters relating to religion, to soldiers, to social customs, to money, and to many such details, the plays are little more than translations from Greek words.[1] But the buoyant *spirit*[2] which expresses itself in the comedies is the youthful and boisterous spirit of Rome ; and, in particular, the large place which music and dancing took in the presentation can only be attributed to the germs of the Italian dramatic element awakening to a new life, at a period when the Latin language was in its exuberance, *i. e.*, its formative period,[3] just as *Ben Jonson's* period, or the one preceding (*i. e.*, Marlowe's) was the formative period in English literature.

But the *influence of Plautus on posterity is the same*, whether he is allowed the merit of originality or not. The extent of his originality is important only as to the question of his *individual* merits. A play may be so adapted as to have a strong original coloring. Plautus and Terence both copied Greek models, yet the *copies* are as different in all the great criteria of poetic merit as though they were originals. Terence is totally deficient in the true comic power, while Plautus is hearty, strong, and humorous.[4]

The not infrequently coarse, but always effective,

[1] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 142.

[2] Mackail, J. W., Latin Literature, 1895, p. 22.

[3] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 141.

[4] Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, III, p. 538. Cf. Quarterly Review, 173, p. 50.

laying on of Roman local tints over the Greek groundwork, which Plautus was fond of, is not found in Terence. "The Plautine dialogue," says Mommsen, "beyond doubt, departed frequently from its models, while Terence even boasts of the verbal adherence of his imitations to originals."[1] In transferring Greek dramas to the Roman stage, it was impossible to avoid inconsistencies,[2] unless the adapter were willing to Latinize the piece thoroughly in language, name, scene, and character. This course would have been in defiance of public opinion, which would have been shocked had the libertinism of decaying Greece been attributed to the Romans.[3] Plautus not only admits this incongruity, but, unlike Terence, he even intrudes into the streets of Athens, amid Greek scenes and Greek characters, allusions to the gods, laws, magistrates, and localities of Rome.[4]

We may regard as eminently characteristic of Plautus the masterly handling of the language, the rare skill in adjusting and working the situation for dramatic effect, the clever dialogue; but, above all, the broad fresh humor, which produces an irresistibly comic effect, with its jokes, its rich vocabulary of nicknames, its whimsical coinage of words, its pungent and mimic descriptions.[5] Plautus wrote for no inner circle of

[1] Mommsen. Cf. Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 165.

[2] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 142.

[3] Freeman, C. E. and Sloman, Rev. A., Introd. to Titi Macci Plauti Trinummus, 1896.

[4] *Ibid.* Cf. Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 142.

[5] Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, II, p. 523. Cf. Cruttwell, C. T., A Hist. of Rom. Lit., 1886, p. 47.

Laelii; the laughter of the pit was his reward. Yet his wit attracted all classes of citizens, and his imitators are among those whose names are the greatest in modern literature.[1]

Plautus popularized the sentimental comedy of the Greeks, and became the national dramatist of Rome, and the Father of our modern drama. With him everything goes into breadth, and indicates intercourse with the lower classes. The more plebeian the humor, the more likely it was to catch the fancy. Always in the scenes where the slaves, parasites, and cooks are the chief actors, we descend to a distinctly lower level. Such scenes, where Plautine words and jests are to be found in abundance, are eminently Plautine in character,[2] for they are the outgrowth of the times and circumstances[3] in which their author lived. The dramatic poet must find his delight and reward in the applause of the people, and Plautus, catching the spirit of ribaldry that prevailed, catered to those elements in the public character, which made him the people's poet and won for him an unrivalled popularity.[4]

"In der Widmung seines Lustspieles, *The Way of the World*," says Mr. Karl von Reinhardstoettner, "an Ralph, Earl of Montague, sagt er: 'Some of the coarsest strokes of Plautus, so severely censured by Horace, were more likely to affect the multitude: such who came with expectation to laugh at the last act of a play and are better entertained with two or three

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886. Cf. National Quarterly, 34, p. 72.

[2] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit., I, p. 141. Note the scene between Sosia and Mercury Sosia, *Am.*; the *As.*, III, s. 1; or the 'cook' scene in the *Au.*, etc.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 142. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

unseasonable jests than with the artful solution of the fable.' ''[1] Centuries after, the drama was regarded by Shakespeare as a thing entirely for the people. Ben Jonson, his contemporary, says :

> " Truth says, of old the art of making plays
> Was to content the people ; and their praise
> Was to the poet money, wine, and bays." [2]

Plautus did not write for the censorious eye of future critics; his sole object was to produce present effect upon a promiscuous and mirth-loving audience. Hence, when he has found those elements out of which he can make the audience laugh, he prolongs the scene to the detriment of the argument.[3] For this reason he kept his characters, with their exuberant fun, and unflagging brilliancy of repartee, on the stage longer than their due proportion, an objection not infrequently made to Ben Jonson's comedies. The elements of the Greek play which were serious held little attraction for Plautus ; in short, he was exclusively a comic poet and a popular poet, therefore he selected that which would please, and which would put money into his pockets.[4]

If we find in the comedies of Plautus something coarse and rough, the same may be said of Shakespeare; if sometimes they are pronouncedly indelicate, none of them, with the exception of the *Casina*, is more so than the plays of Ben Jonson, or those of Beaumont

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 80, Note 7.

[2] Prologue to *The Silent Woman*, Ben Jonson.

[3] Dr. Sihler, Ernest G.

[4] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Wm. Wagner, p. 123. Cf. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, I, p. 141. Cf. Horace, Epistles, II, 1, 175.

and Fletcher, or Massinger and Ford in the time of James I., or Etherage and Shadwell during the reigns of Charles II. and his successors. If we do not always find in the Plautine comedies pleasing views of human nature, we have strong studies in his typical characters, for Plautus depicts his characters entirely according to nature.[1] His strong point does not lie in the plot, but in the *sermo*,[2] in the detail,[3] and in the harmonious union of parts, where speech and counter-speech follow in rapid succession.[4] The mutual relation of speeches one to another is of the greatest importance. The slave, who is subject to the whims of a master inferior in intellect, raises himself to a moral equality with him by a skilful play of words, or finds consolation in pert repetitions. Line 671 *sq.* of the *B.*, as also the closing scene of the *Mo.*, illustrate this peculiar pertness of the slave. "Plautus," says Mr. von Reinhardstoettner, "is accounted for his witty and vivacious answers. As a poet of such accomplishments, he, as well as Terence, has *served as a model* for all later centuries."[5] The former makes his servants speak as servants, his higher classes as such, while Terence makes all speak alike, hence, in this respect Plautus is the better artist.[6] Ben Jonson, criticising his great colleague for the same offence, said: "Shakespeare wanted art"[7]; and, like

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886.

[2] Varro, Apud Nonium, p. 374, 5 M. *Testimonia Veterum*, LVI. Cf. Varro, Apud Charisium, II, p. 241, 27 K.

[3] Dr. Sihler, Ernest G.

[4] Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. 10, p. 326.

[5] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 17.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Gilchrist, Octavius. An examination of the charges maintained by Messrs. Malone, Chalmers, and others of Ben Jonson's enmity, etc., toward Shakespeare.

his ancient model, Jonson always keeps his characters true to their station.

We are sure to get a fair idea of the art of Plautus in those scenes where the action of the play apparently ceases, and there is a comic passage at arms of Falstaffian repartee, generally full of wit and humor, where the Plautine words,[1] puns,[2] and jests[3] occur in rapid succession. Here we can detect those delicate little ear-marks, peculiarities or characteristics, which betray the hand of Plautus. Puns, *παρανομασια*, alliteration and assonance, which abound in these passages, are not the highest form of wit, and the lower the general type of the dialogue the more we have of these Latin characteristics. The slave usually aims to get all he can out of the situation, and so does Plautus.[4] An instance of this may be found in the *B.*, ll. 51–55, and especially, l. 53 *sq.* :

PI. Quia, Bácchis, Bacchas métuo et bacchanál tuom.
BA. Quíd est? quid metuis? né tibi lectus málitiam apud me suadeat?
PI. Mágis inlectum tuóm quam lectum métuo,

and at line 65 *sq.*, where there is a profusion of words which seem almost to tumble over each other in their effort to be expressed. If this passage is read rapidly we may catch the true Plautine spirit :

SO. Quíd ab hac metuis? PI. Quíd ego metuam rógitas? adulescéns homo
Pénetrem me huius modi ín palaestram, ubi dámnis desudáscitur?
Vbi pro disco dámnum capiam, pró cursura dédecus?

[1] Dr. Sihler, Ernest G. Cf. Plautus, *B.*, l. 1088. Stultí, stolidi, fatuí, fungi, bardí, blenni, buccónes.
[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 340, 362 ; cf. *Au.*, l. 78 ; *Cp.*, l. 103, etc.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] Note the *As.*, l. 657 *sqq.* . . . ll. 700–704 *sq.*

Or, ll. 115, 116 *B.*

> PI. Amór, Voluptas, Vénus, Venustas, Gaúdium,
> Iocus, Lúdus, Sermo, Suáuisauiátio.

His vocabulary is especially rich in terms of endearment, which are often grouped together in doublets and triplets,[1] — *Meúm, corculúm, melculúm, uerculum*,[2] and occasionally, with still greater variety, as :

> Méa uoluptas, méa delicia, méa uita, mea amoénitas,
> Méus ocellus, meúm labellum, méa salus, meum sáuium,
> Meúm mel, meum cor, méa colustra, méus molliculus cáseus.[3]

Since the tricks and deceptions forming the staple of the New Comedy are generally contrived and executed by cunning slaves, whose masters are the victims, there are numerous words and phrases, coined by Plautus for the purpose,[4] which are applied as taunts to those slaves who had previously paid the penalty [5] for a similar offence. The idea of flogging is made to assume many fantastic forms.[6] Terms of abuse referring to corporal punishment [7]—often with a more general application[8] — are usually addressed to slaves and lenones, and these characters frequently make interchange of the coarsest

[1] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria.* Prolegomena, p. 280. Cf. Plautus, *As.*, l. 670.

[2] Plautus, *Cs.*, l. 837.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Po.*, ll. 365–367.

[4] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria.* Prolegomena, p. 250.

[5] *Ibid.* Excursions on the Punishment of Slaves, p. 254 *sqq.*

[6] Plautus, *E.*, ll. 625, 626. Cf. *Ibid. Po.*, l. 28, etc.

[7] Allen, Fred. D., On *os columnatum* (Plautus' *Mi.*, 211) and Ancient Instruments of Confinement. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, VII, 1896.

[8] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria.* Prolegomena, p. 280.

Billingsgate.[1] The most prolonged series of colloquial amenities is to be found in the *Ps.*, l. 133 *sqq.* and l. 360 *sqq.* Women, also, come in for a portion of this abuse.[2]

Terms of imprecation are varied and whimsical.[3] The dialogue is interlarded with the multitude of abjurations which are mere expletives, destitute of any particular meaning or emphasis, and which correspond to those so constantly used by Ben Jonson in his comedies. These words appeal to the popular deities, the Great Twin Brethren, and Hercules, expressed by *Pol*, *Ecastor*, *Hercule*, and *Hercle*.[4] These were the everyday oaths with the Romans, and were used to add weight to the assertions of the speaker. A literal translation would hardly be tolerated by the English, and they are best translated by such expressions as Jonson's *faith*, *troth*, *by my troth*, *by St. George*, *Hercules*, *Hercle*, *Pol*, *'slid*, etc.

Words and terms denoting roguery are abundant, and are imitated by Ben Jonson in such coined words as *titivilitium*, *Burgullion*, *Clapper Dudgeon*, and the cant terms *frapler*, *giglot*, *glicks*, *irpe*, *vapour*, and other similar words. The idea of deception is presented in various forms, many of them highly ingenious,[5] like the *trundling cheats*, *smelt* (*i. e.* the *gull*), *cautelous*, etc., found in such profusion in the comedies of Jonson. The ordinary slang phrases used by the

[1] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Prolegomena, p. 280. Cf. *The Alchemist*, A. I, s. 1. *Every Man in His Humour*, A. III, s. 2, etc.

[2] Plautus, *Tu.*, l. 775. Cf. Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Prolegomena, p. 280.

[3] *Ibid. R.*, l. 521. Cf. Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Prolegomena, p. 280.

[4] Cf. *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* Cf. Plautus, *Ps.*, l. 1200, etc.

Romans about the forum, and between men about town,[1] are frequent, the most common being *dare uerba alicui*, *Dedit uerba mihi*,[2] *hercle*, *upinor*.[3] A number of phrases, which express trickery, represent the person deceived as under the absolute control of the deceiver, who deals with him as he pleases. One of these is *uendere*, to be sold:[4]

> CH. O stúlte, stulte, néscis nunc uenire te:
> Atque ín eopse adstas lápide, ut praeco praédicat.
> NI. Respónde: quis me uéndit?[5]

This is identical with the modern English slang, and Ben Jonson in *The Silent Woman* has the same expression, and elsewhere, *i. e.*, "Cler. Was there ever such a two yards of knighthood measured out by time, *to be sold* to laughter?"[6] Likewise Shakespeare: "It would make a man as mad as a brick *to be so bought and sold*,"[7] "*Bought and sold*, Lord Talbot,"[8] and, "Dicon, thy master is *bought and sold*."[9]

There is a host of similar expressions, chief among them being *ducere*, *to lead by the nose*, as, *qui senem ducerem*,[10] which occurs frequently in the Plautine comedies,[11] and these expressions correspond to those found in Jonson's plays. The constant use of military metaphors, and terms of a judicial nature, for which Ben Jonson had a penchant, were particularly suited to a Roman audience.

[1] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Prolegomena, p. 280.
[2] Plautus, *Ps.*, l. 909.
[3] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Prolegomena, p. 263.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] Plautus, *B.*, ll. 814–816.
[6] Jonson, Ben, *The Silent Woman*, A. II, s. 2.
[7] Shakespeare, Wm., *The Comedy of Errors*, A. III, s. 1.
[8] *Ibid. King Henry IV.*, A. V, s. 4.
[9] *Ibid. Rich. III.*, A. V, s. 3. [10] Plautus, *Mo.*, l. 715.
[11] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Prolegomena, p. 263.

As a passage in the *Pseudolus*, replete with these expressions, is remarkably like the soliloquy of Brainworm, in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, being full of the same spirit of comic exultation and intent at deception, it is worth comparison :

PS. . . . nam égo in meo prius péctore
Íta paraui cópias,
Duplicís triplicis dolos pérfidias, ut ubíquomque hostibus cóngrediar—
Maiórem meúm fretus uírtute dícam
Mea índustria ét malitiá fraudulénta—
Facile út uincam, facile út spoliem meos pérduellis meis pérfidi<i>s.
Núnc inimicum ego húnc communem méum atque uostr<or>um ómnium
Bállionem exbállistabo lépide : date operám modo.
Hóc ego oppidum ádmoenire ut hódie capiatúr uolo,
Atque huc meas legiones adducam : si expugno, facilem hanc rem meis ciuibus faciam :
Post ad oppidum hoc uetus continuo meum exercitum protinus obducam.
Inde me ét simul participís omnis meos praéda onerabo atque ópplebo,
Metum ét fugam perduéllibus meís me<d> ut sciant nátum.
Eó sum genere gnátus : magna mé facinora décet efficere,
Quæ póst mihi clara et diú clueant.[1]

[Enter *Brainworm* disguised as a maimed soldier.]

" Brain. 'Slid, I cannot choose but laugh to see myself translated thus, from a poor *creature* to a *creator ;* for now must I *create* an intolerable sort of lies, or my present profession loses the grace : and yet the lie, to a man of my coat, is as ominous a fruit as the fico. O,

[1] Plautus, *Ps.*, ll. 578–592.

sir, it holds for good polity ever, to have that outwardly in vilest estimation, that inwardly is most dear to us: so much for my borrowed shape. Well, the troth is, *my old master* intends to follow *my young master*, dry-foot, over Moorfields to London, this morning; now, I knowing of this hunting-match, or rather conspiracy, *and to insinuate myself with my young master* (for so much we that are blue waiters, and men of hope and service do, or perhaps we may wear motley at the year's end, and who wears motley, you know), have got me afore in this disguise, determining here to lie in ambuscado, and intercept him in the mid-way. If I can but get his cloak, his purse, his hat, nay, anything to cut him off, that is, to stay his journey, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I may say with captain Cæsar, I am made forever, i' faith. Well, now must I practise to get the true garb of one of these lance-knights, my arm here, and my — Odso! my young master, and his cousin, master Stephen, as I am true counterfeit man of war, and no soldier!"[1] Brainworm, as we may observe, is the identical character of the old Attic, or Plautine, slave, transferred to English soil.

The archaic words in the Plautine comedies give an antique flavor to the language,[2] and the same may be said of Ben Jonson, whose vocabulary is at times as difficult as Shakespeare's. Words, coined for the purpose of expressing various things, like *Turpilucricupidum* in the *Ti.*, and *Thensaurochrýsonicochrýsides* in the *Cp.*, are especially noticeable. Many of these words are mere gibberish, as *Cryphiolothronia*, *Gorgondonian*, compounded of Greek and Latin words, while others have a peculiar and humorous significance, as

[1] Jonson, Ben, *Every Man in His Humour*, A. II, s. 2.

[2] Ramsay, Wm., Plautus, *Mostellaria*. Prolegomena, p. xvii.

fustitudinas ferricrepinas,[1] and *sperabilist*.[2] Especially interesting is the use of the word *pergraecámini*, which occurs several times, as,

Diés noctesque bíbite, pergraecáminei.[3]

And, also,

bíbi <te>, pergraecámini,
Este, écfer<c>ite uós, saginam caédite,[4]

where Plautus uses the word from the Roman standpoint, forgetting that the play is Greek. Ben Jonson thus uses the *same word* in its translated form, in *The Fox*,

Mos. Let 's die like Romans,
Since we have *lived like Grecians*.[5]

No modern writer has excelled Plautus in epigrammatic terseness of expression, and his works are replete with verbal quibbles and examples of alliteration. The juxtaposition of words from the same root, like *sumptus sumptui*,[6] *relictae reliquae*,[7] *uenus uenusta*,[8] etc., invariably betray his own handiwork. Generally the words played upon are from the same stem, but sometimes they are of different stems. The following example will be found to be ingenious :

TR. répperi, quí senem dúcerem,
Quó dolo a mé dolorém procul péllerem.[9]

and this from Ben Jonson's *The Silent Woman :*

[1] Plautus, *As.*, l. 33.
[2] *Ibid.*, *Cp.*, l. 518.
[3] *Ibid.*, *Mo.*, l. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, l. 64.
[5] Jonson, Ben, *The Fox*, A. III, s. 5.
[6] Plautus, *Mo.*, l. 125.
[7] *Ibid.*, l. 82.
[8] *Ibid.*, l. 161.
[9] *Ibid.*, ll. 715, 716.

La-F. Why, she says they are no *decorum* among ladies.
Ott. But they are *decora*, and that 's better, sir.[1]

With these we may compare Shakespeare :

Maria. . . . your cousin, my lady, takes great *exceptions* to your ill hours.
Sir Toby. Why, let her *except* before *excepted.*
Maria. Ay, but you must *confine* yourself within the modest limits of order.
Sir Toby. *Confine !* I 'll *confine* myself no *finer* than I am.[2]

From the variety of his alliterative power, we see that Plautus had an ear for delicate and harmonious sounds, and a wonderful intuitive power in the choice of his words. As a master of the Latin language, especially in its colloquial forms, he is unequalled,[3] and only paralleled in the English language by his learned imitator, Ben Jonson.

[1] Jonson, Ben, *The Silent Woman*, A. III, s. 1.
[2] Shakespeare, Wm., *The Twelfth Night*, A. I, s. 3.
[3] Cruttwell, C. T., A Hist. of Roman Lit., 1886, p. 47.

III.

THAT THESE COMEDIES BY CONTINUED PRESENTATION ON THE STAGE HAD GROWN TO BE FAMILIAR TO THE PUBLIC.

A PLEASANT and practical way of realizing the merits of Plautus, of solving the question of his originality, and of determining his influence on posterity is that followed by Mr. Karl von Reinhardstoettner, whose method is to take each comedy, and, after giving an estimate of its merits, to note the imitations which he has observed in the dramatic literature of modern nations.[1] Taine says: "Gegen 1490 beginnt man die klassiker wieder zu lesen. Zwischen 1550 und 1616 werden die Werke aller römischen und griechischen Geschichtschreiber und Dichter von Belang ins Englische übersetzt."[2] And of Terence, Mr. von Reinhardstoettner says: "Schon im Jahre 1178 und 1180 begegnen wir den Übersetzungen des Terenz, welche der Benediktiner-mönch Henry und der Abt von Peterborough veranstalteten.[3] Terenz wurde in England überhaupt oft übersetzt, und wenn Price von einer fast vollständigen Unbekanntheit des Terenz im Mittelalter spricht, so ist er leicht zu widerlegen."[4]

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 74. Cf. Taine, H., Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur, Leipzig, 1877 bis 1880.

[3] *Ibid.* Cf. Note 1. Cf. Warton, Tho., Hist. of Eng. Poetry, 1871, I, 213.

[4] *Ibid.* Cf. Note 2.

"At the period of the revival of letters eight only of the Plautine comedies were known to the learned, viz., the *Am.*, *As.*, *Au.*, *Cp.*, *Cs.*, *Ci.*, *Cu.*, *E.* The first announcement of the existence of a *MS.*, containing the whole of the twenty which we now possess, is made in a letter written from Rome about the beginning of 1429, by Poggio Bracciolini [1] (1340–1459),[2] at that time Apostolic Secretary to Pope Martin V., in which he informs his friend Niccolo Niccoli at Florence, that Nicolas of Treves had discovered [3] in Germany several classical works, and among others a volume containing twenty plays of Plautus, and Poggio gives the titles of all the new pieces. In reality the *MS.* was found to comprise sixteen only, but of these twelve [4] were previously unknown, the *Cs.*, *Ci.*, *Cu.*, and *E.* being omitted. About the close of the year, Nicolas delivered his treasures to Cardinal Giordano Orsini.[5] A copy was sent to the Duke of Milan in 1431, and the *MS.* itself was sent to Florence at the request of Lorenzo de' Medici, and there a copy of the last twelve plays was made by Niccolo Niccoli with his own hand." [6]

In the year 1472, the first edition appeared at Venice, as the work of George Alexander Merulae.[7] Other

[1] Ramsay, Wm., The *Mostellaria* of Plautus. Prolegomena, 1869.

[2] Gudeman, Dr. Alfred, Outlines of The Hist. of Classical Philology, 1897, p. 49.

[3] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 146. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Ramsay, Wm., The *Mostellaria* of Plautus. Prolegomena, 1869.

[7] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, I, p. 19. Cf. Hallam, Constitutional Hist. of Eng., I, Part 2, p. 471.

editions followed in 1482 and 1490.[1] "Merulae, in his preface to the edition of 1472, speaks of the last twelve comedies as having been discovered forty years before the time when he was writing, and adds that there was but one *MS.* from which, as from an archetype, all the copies in circulation had been derived; and again, Ugoletus, in 1515, employs the same language. It appears . . . that the *MS.* of Nicolas of Treves was copied at least *twice* within *two years* from its arrival at Rome, and these copies, and probably the original *MS.*, also, would be transcribed [2] until the twelve new plays became generally known to the literary men of Italy and Germany."[3] Of the editio princeps (1472) there exist to-day, in the British Museum, three copies; two of the edition of 1482, and one of the edition of 1490.[4] A copy of a different edition of the twenty plays (1495) and three copies of another (1499) are catalogued in the same Library.[5]

In 1552, a complete edition of the twenty plays was published at Leipsic by Joachim Camerarius,[6] who had previously published (Leipsic, 1545) five pieces, and subsequently (Leipsic, 1549) six more. Camerarius had obtained possession of two *MSS.* unknown to previous editors. One of these contained the whole twenty plays, and is generally known as the Vetus Codex Camerarii.[7] The other is frequently referred

[1] Hallam, Constitutional Hist. of Eng. (Authority Dr. Dobdin.)

[2] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 147.

[3] Ramsay, Wm., The *Mostellaria* of Plautus. Prolegomena, 1869. [4] British Museum Catalogue. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Rom. Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 146. [7] *Ibid.*

to as the Codex Decurtatus, for, although it had originally contained the whole twenty, the first eight had been torn off, and had disappeared before it came into the hands of Camerarius.[1] Ben Jonson's last comedy, *A Tale of a Tub*, was written in 1633. Previous to 1630, there had been issued fifty-two separate editions of the Plautine comedies, in whole or in part, of which copies exist in the British Museum Library: *i. e.*, five previous to 1500 A.D., thirty-one between this date and 1600, and fifteen between 1600 and 1630.[2]

An English version of the *Andria* of Terence was printed in 1530.[3] Another translation was printed in 1588, and this appears to be the second translation into our language of any of Terence's works. The *Menaechmi* of Plautus was translated and represented in Italy earlier than any other play (1508).[4] And Mr. Collier thinks it had been brought upon the stage in England at an early date. Ariosto was the first to conceive and carry into effect the idea of regular comedies in imitation of the ancients.[5] His second comedy, the *Suppositi*, is chiefly an imitation of the *Captivi* of Plautus, and the *Eunuchus* of Terence. Gascoigne's comedy, the *Supposes*,[6] the earliest existing play in

[1] Ramsay, Wm., The *Mostellaria* of Plautus. Prolegomena, 1869.

[2] British Museum Catalogue. Cf. Hildyard's Recensus Codicum, Aulularia. Cambridge, 1839.

[3] Collier, J. P., The Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare. The Annals of the Stage to the Restoration, 1831, I, p. 88.

[4] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 53.

[5] Schelling, Felix E., Three Unique Eng. Dramas. Mod. Lang. Notes. May, 1892.

[6] Hist. Litt. d' Italie, ed. Milan, 1820, VI, *passim*, and p. 180 *sqq*.

English prose, performed in England in 1566, is a translation of the *Suppositi* of Ariosto.[1] Dr. Felix E. Schelling says: "In Gascoigne's day the English drama was not yet out of foreign leading-strings, and the paths of Seneca, of Ariosto, or *of Plautus* and Terence, were the only paths in which its infant feet could tread." [2]

"Joachim Greff's Übersetzung der *Aulularia* des Plautus, welche als sein Erstlingswerk gilt, erschien im Jahre 1535. Sie führt den Titel: 'Eine schöne Lü | stige Comedia des Poe | ten Plauti *Aulularia* ge | nannt, durch Joachinum Greff von Zwickaw deudsch | gemacht vnd jnn reim | verfasset, fast lüstig | vnd kurtzweilig | zu lesen.'" [3] A German, Hans Sachs, wrote the *Menaechmi* in 1548[4]; and in 1563, the *Eunuchus*.[5] Of this writer, Mr. von Reinhardstoettner says: "Hans Sachs bearbeitete übrigens mehrere Stücke nach antiken Vorbildern, so die *Elektra* des Euripides, den *Plutus* des Aristophanes, eine Jokaste, eine Klytämnestra. Doch kannte er die Originale natürlich nicht, sondern arbeitete nach früheren Übersetzungen, oder wohl auch zum Teil nach Andeutungen, die er in andern Schriften gefunden haben mochte." [6]

In England, a taste for classical literature began to be generally apparent very soon after Elizabeth came to the throne, and it produced its effect upon the national drama.[7] But before this date — the students presented

[1] Schelling, Felix E., Three Unique Eng. Dramas. Mod. Lang. Notes. May, 1892. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 92. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 76, Note 6. Cf. Collier, J. P., Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, III, p. 13.

the Plautine comedies (possibly in the Latin language) before King Henry VIII., at Greenwich, in 1528[1]; the *Andria* of Terenz, at Oxford (1559)[2]; the *Aulularia* (1564) in the presence of Queen Elizabeth,[3] who at that time had honored the University of Cambridge with a royal visit.[4]

And in the cloisters, also, the comedies of Plautus and Terence, particularly, were performed.[5] "Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustines at Cambridge, at Louvain, with the assistance of his scholar, Thomas Parnell, explained within the walls of his monastery Plautus, Terence . . . (in 1530)."[6] "Indessen, das Volk sich seines Theaters freute, spielten die Studierenden ihre komiker."[7] Warton says: "The scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects and *in imitation of Plautus and Terence*."[8] The learned schoolmaster, Udall (1556), provided amusement for his boys by writing comedies after Plautus and Terence for them to perform.[9]

The times of Elizabeth and James were particularly fertile in Latin dramas composed at the Universities, and these sovereigns were entertained by the students of Oxford and Cambridge with Latin plays.[10] "Freilich fehlte es auch in England nicht an Agitationen gegen die klassische Litteratur. Um frühere zu übergehen, müsste man auf den berüchtigten Histriomas-

[1] Warton, Tho., Hist. of Eng. Poetry, 1871, III, 289.
[2] *Ibid.*, 304. [3] *Ibid.*, 306.
[4] *Ibid.*, Cf. Shaw, Tho. B., Hist. of Eng. Lit., London, 1878.
[5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*, IV, 3.
[7] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 76.
[8] *Ibid.*, Note 7.
[9] *Ibid.*, Note 9. Cf. Collier, J. P., Hist. of Stage.
[10] *Ibid.*, Note 6.

tix des William Prynne hinweisen, dessen allgemein theater-feindliche Stellung sich auch gegen die Alten kehrt. Alle Christen, meint er, hätten dahin zu wirken, die Verbreitung der heidnischen Autoren zu verhindern, vornehmlich ' Ovid's wanton Epistles and Bookes of love, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Martiall, the Comedies of Plautus, Terence and other such amorous bookes savouring either of Pagan Gods, of ethnicke rites and ceremonies or of scurrility, amorousnesse and prophanesse.' [1] Allerdings war der Einfluss der lateinischen Komödiendichter auf die Theaterentwicklung auch in England von ganz besonderer Macht, und nicht mit Unrecht griff darum Prynne auch diese an." [2]

Ward says: "Comedy sprang more easily from the moralities through the transitional phase of the interludes and *with the aid of the examples of Plautus* and Terence, and *secondarily* of the Italian comic dramatists." [3] It was not unusual in mediæval times for religious scholars to exercise their ingenuity and solace their loneliness by converting the ancient dramas so as to represent incidents from Holy Writ. It would be scarcely imagined possible, however, to make the *Amphitruo* represent the *Nativity*, and yet, that is the task which Johannes Burmeister (1612) attempted and accomplished. In his play, Gabriel speaks the Prologue; Amphitruo becomes Joseph; Alcmena is the Virgin; Mercury, Asmodeus; Sosia alone retains his Plautine name; a Jewish priest and three shepherds complete the dramatis personæ. The idea is ingenious, however meaningless the production. As it was much

[1] Warton, Tho., Hist. of Eng. Poetry, 1871, IV, 232.
[2] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 77.
[3] Ward, A. W., A Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Lit. I, p. 146.

read and had great popularity, it serves to show the influence of Plautus at this period.

There are two *MS.* copies, in the British Museum Library, of *imitations* of the Plautine plays before Ben Jonson's time, *i. e.*, 1. The *Am.*—In comincia el libro chiamato gieta and birria. In verse, founded on the *Am.* of Plautus, whose name occurs as the original author of the story in the last stanza but five. An additional stanza at the end of this edition states that the author of this poem was *Boccaccio*, and the editor *Frate Lorenzo Amalagiso*, but the other editions attribute the authorship to *Filippo Brunelleschi* and *Domenico da Prato*, others to *Ghigo Brunelleschi* (Florence (?), 1485 (?)), folio. Another edition was printed in 1495.[1] 2. The *Rudens.—Il Roffiano*, *Comedia*, in five acts and in prose, di *L. Dolce tratta dal Rudente di Plauto.* With few *MS.* notes. *G. Giolito de Ferrari e Fratelli.* Venezia, 1551.[2]

"Die direkten Nachahmer des Plautus sind in England weniger, als anderswo ; unberechenbar jedoch ist der Einfluss, welchen gerade hier die römischen komiker geübt haben, zahllos die Szenen, unzählbar die Stellen, welche die an ihnen herangebildeten Dichter denselben entnommen haben."[3] Not only the learned Ben Jonson (1574–1637), but others, also, show everywhere traces of this ancient writer. "Die Ausgaben der hervorragendsten englischen Bühnendichter weisen zahlreiche Reminiszenzen an die alten komiker auf. . . . Der Verfasser des Stückes Timon[4] ist sehr vertraut mit den Lateinern und insbesondere mit Plautus.

[1] British Museum Catalogue. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 78.

[4] Timon, a play. Now first printed. Ed. by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, Shakespeare Soc., 1842, London.

Die Namen seiner Personen—Gelasimus, Philargurus, Grunnio — weisen auf diesen Dichter hin ; einzelne Stellen sind ihm wörtlich entnommen. . . . Die ganze an Erinnerungen an lateinische, ja sogar griechische Autoren reiche Komödie beweist, dass ihr Verfasser 'in Athen wohl zu Hause (ist) ; seine Hauptquelle ist *Plautus ;* aber auch Lucian und Aristophanes kennt er.'" [1] Nicholas Udall's *Ralph Royster Doyster*, the earliest English comedy, the work of an English scholar, is directly founded on the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus.[2] So, also, is Sir Tophas in Lilly's *Endimion*.[3] Mr. Ward says, "Sir Tophas, in *Endimion*, has far more assuredly a prototype in the *Mi.*, of Plautus, than Falstaff has one in Sir Tophas." [4]

At the Tenth Annual Convention of the Modern Language Association,[5] a paper was read on "The Sources of Udall's *Roister Doister*," by Prof. Geo. Heimple, in which the main point was, reversing the general opinion, that Udall's first and chief source was Terence's *Eunuchus*, and that the *Mi.* of Plautus, was a secondary source to fill up the lacunae left by the other. Dr. Bright and Dr. Gudeman were, however, inclined to maintain the traditional claims of Plautus as the chief source.[6]

"Thomas Heywood (1582–1640) dichtete nach Plau-

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 79. Cf. Rapp, Studien, S. 127, 128.

[2] Ward, A. W., Hist. of English Dramatic Lit. to the Death of Queen Anne, I, 140. Cf. Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 107: "Roister Doister beruht ganz auf Plautus."

[3] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 107.

[4] Ward, A. W., Hist. of English Dramatic Lit. to Death of Queen Anne, I, 154.

[5] Jan., 1893.

[6] Harrison, Tho., Mod. Lang. Notes, Feb., 1893, p. 66.

tus die Sage vom *Am.* in seinem *The Silver Age;* er benützte einen guten Teil der *Mostellaria* in seinem *The English Traveller.*[1] Philip Massinger (1584–1640) sein *A Very Woman*, hat eine Szene aus dem *Curculio.*" [2] And most probably A. IV, s. 2, of the old play of *Albumazar* was borrowed from the passage in A. IV, s. 3, of the *Ti.*[3] "Ob in Anthony Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber* (1595) wirklich ein Einfluss des *Amphitruo* thätig war, wie Rapp annimmt, ob auf Addison's *Gespenst mit der Trommel* die *Mostellaria*, auf Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-all* die *Bacchides*[4] auf Murphy's *The Citizen* der *Mercator* eingewirkt hat,[5] mag dahingestellt bleiben." [6]

Plautus was to the dramatic author of this period what the repertory of the French stage is to certain playwrights in our day; and authors who possessed native genius—as Molière, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Dryden, Congreve, and others did not hesitate to make use of plots, scenes, and sentiments from these old Latin comedies. "Mit besonderer," says Mr. von Reinhardstoettner, "Vorliebe aber bearbeiteten englische Lustspieldichter die Gestalt des prahlerischen Thraso und Pyrgopolinices. Voran schreitet Udall mit seinem *Royster-Doyster*, dem *Miles Gloriosus*, der in zahlreichen englischen Stücken, in Lilly's *Endimion*, Chapman's *May-day*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* und *The Custom of Country*, in W. Con-

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 78.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[3] Rolfe, ed. of Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, Notes. (Albumazar by Tomkins?)

[4] Ussing, J. L., Titi Macci Plauti Comoedie, recensuit et enarravit, B.d. II, S. 370.

[5] Rapp, Studien, S. 170.

[6] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 80.

greve's *Old Batchelor* und vielen andern eine hervorragende Rolle spielt, der Verbreitung, die er als Bobadill des Ben Jonson, und der Verklärung, die er als John Falstaff bei Shakespeare samt seinem Gefolge erreicht, nicht zu gedenken.[1] Thomas Middleton (gest. 1628) hat zu seinem *No Wit Like a Woman's* beim *Epidicus* des Plautus geborgt.[2] John Dryden (1631–1700) ahmte den *Amphitruo* nach, welchen später Hawkesworth überarbeitete."[3] But Dryden's comedy is stilted, and he was justly apprehensive, when, after acknowledging in his preface his obligations to Plautus and Molière, he says: "I am afraid the world will too easily discover that more than half of it is wine." It remained a stock piece on the stage for a long time toward the close of the seventeenth century. "Shadwell's *Miser*, sowie Henry Fielding's (1707–1754) *The Miser* verdanken ihre Entstehung weniger der *Aulularia* als Molière's *Avare*.[4] . . . Im Jahre 1672 erschien *The Miser:* a Comedy acted by His Majesty's Servants, at the Theatre Royal. Written by Thomas Shadwell.[5] In dem preface erklärt er seine Abhängigkeit von Molière mit folgenden Worten: 'The foundation of this play I took from one of Molière's called *L'Avare*, but that having too few persons, and too little action for an English Theatre, I added to both so much that I may call more than half of this play my own.'"[6] Halliwell[7] says of this: "By the author's own confession (it) is founded on the *Avare* of Molière, which is itself also builded on the *Aulularia* of Plautus. Shadwell, however, has by no means been a mere translator, but has also added

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 81.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 306.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Halliwell, S. 171.

considerably to his original."[1] Wycherly's *Miser* (1752) is likewise founded on these two plays of Molière and Plautus. "Sowie auch des letzteren Vaudeville, *The Intriguing Chambermaid* zwar der Stoff der *Mostellaria* ist, jedoch zunächst auf Regnard beruht."[2] In this comedy few other changes were made than was necessary to accommodate to modern times. The entertainment, the old gentleman's return from a voyage, the driving him off from surprising the company within his own house by making him believe it was haunted, the pretending the young son had purchased another instead, are introduced with little variation. Ben Jonson, Regnard, Addison and others have imitated the *Mostellaria*.

The most interesting of the adaptations of the Plautine plays is offered in the history of the *Menaechmi*. It suggested to Rotrou his *Les Ménechmes* (1636), and from this it is said Picard (1769–1828) derived his play of *Encore des Ménechmes*, turned into German by Schiller in his *Neffe als Onkel* (1803).[3] How far Shakespeare was acquainted with the plays of Plautus and Terence, we do not know. "Während die einen hartnäckig dem grossen Dichter die Fähigkeit absprechen, die antiken komiker zu lesen, suchen und finden andere bei ihm zahlreiche Stellen, welche eine kenntniss des Plautus und Terenz beweisen sollen.[4] Shakespeare hat in seinem Lustspiele the *Comedy of Errors*—gleichviel, woher er den Stoff schöpfte."[5] The *Comedy of Errors* may be presumed from an allusion it contains to have been written before 1594. It is founded on a subject which furnishes two comedies of Plautus, the

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 306, Note 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 567. Cf. National Quarterly, Vol. 34, p. 72.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[5] *Ibid.* Cf. Cruttwell, Hist. of Rom. Lit., 1886, p. 45.

translation from one of which, *i. e.*, the *Mn.*, was represented in Italy as early as 1508, and, as Mr. Collier thinks, may have been brought upon the stage in England at an early date. The first known translation of the *Mn.* into English was made in 1595, by W. W. (supposed to be William Warner). London. Printed by Tho. Creede.[1] "Mr. G. Colman,[2] der Übersetzer des Terenz (1765) äussert sich hierüber: 'Besides the resemblance of particular passages, scattered up and down in different plays, it is well known that the whole *Comedy of Errors* is in great measure founded on the *Mn.* of Plautus; but I do not recollect ever to have seen it observed, that the disguise of the Pedant in the *Taming of the Shrew*, his assuming the name and character of Vincentio, together with his encountering the real Vincentio, seem to be evidently taken from the disguise of the Sycophanta in the *Tï.* of the same author.'"[3] But this disguise may have been in the work of the author of the old play, which Shakespeare improved.[4] "There is a quotation from the *Eunuch* of Terence also, so familiarly introduced into the dialogue of the *Taming of the Shrew*, that I think it puts the question of Shakespeare having read the Roman comick poets in the original language out of all doubt.

'*Tranio:* Master, it is no time to chide you now. Affection is not rated from the heart. If love hath touched you, nought remains but so.'

Redime te captum quam queas minimo."[5]

The *Comedy of Errors* has been made more intricate

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 568, Note 3. Cf. Farmer, Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare, S. 33.

[2] Colman, G., Übersetzer des Terenz, XXI.

[3] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 78, Note 2.

[4] Quarterly Review, Vol. 173, p. 47, 1891.

[5] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 78, Note 2.

than the *Mn.* in plot, by the introduction of a *double* for the slave as well as for the master. Shakespeare may have taken this idea from the *double* of Sosia in the *Am.* The situations in the Plautine play, being admirably conceived and carried out, have often been imitated. "Die erste beginnt Shakespeare mit der *Comedy of Errors;* ihm folgt Regnard mit den *Jumeaux*, und Goldoni mit den *Gemelli Veneziani*, während aus Farquhar's *The Twin Rivals* des Voltairesche *L'enfant Prodigue*, und die Schillerschen *Räuber* abfliessen."[1] Shakespeare was so well pleased with the idea that he returned to it in *The Twelfth Night.* But the part of Sebastian in *Twelfth Night* has all the improbability which belongs to mistaken identity, without the comic effect in Plautus and the *Comedy of Errors.* The situation of the steward, also, in *As.* l. 407, is something like that of Malvolio in *Twelfth Night.*

The opening scene of the *Rudens* has been frequently compared to that of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, although it has been claimed that Shakespeare drew his description from Ariosto.[2] "Prospero's command to Ariel 'to fetch dew from the still-vex'd Bermoothes' makes it certain that the Bermudas are *not* the scene of *The Tempest*, though, strangely enough, it has produced the contrary impression on many minds; but this reference to these islands, and allusion to their storm-vexed coast, connects itself naturally with the publication of Jourdan's[3] narrative."[4] No one can carefully read the *Rudens*,

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 577.

[2] National Quarterly, Vol. 34, p. 72.

[3] A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Ile of Divels: by Sir Tho. Gates, Sir Geo. Sommers, and Captayne Newport, with divers others. London, 1610.

[4] Rolfe, Wm. J., Introduction to his ed. of *The Tempest*, by Wm. Shakespeare, p. 9.

without being impressed with the similarity of the exile Daemones to the exile Prospero in Shakespeare's play. Take for instance, ll. 2–7 of the *Rudens*, and note the similarity in the reflection of Ferdinand, beginning with the words, "There be some sports are painful, etc." The same comedy may have furnished more than one hint to the author or authors of *Pericles*. In A. I, s. 2 (ll. 133–252) of the *Ps.*, where Ballio is addressing his slaves, we have a noticeable parallel to Shakespeare's *Pericles*, A. IV.[1] The *Ps.* was presented before Roman audiences, of the Augustan Age, more frequently than any other play. The character of Ballio seems to have been as well known to Cicero and his circle, as Shylock or Macbeth to a London audience of our day. Cicero, when describing an abandoned ruffian whose hideous features reflected his bold depravity, seeks a comparison in Ballio.[2] This comedy has frequently been imitated by modern playwrights, *e. g.*, the Italian Battista Porta in *La Trappolaria*. Molière drew largely on this play for *L'Etourdi*, as also Regnard for *La Sérénade;* and the *Diderich Menschenschreck of Holberg* is largely derived from the same source.[3]

"Was sich bei den Engländern an Nachahmungen der *Aulularia* findet, ist durch Molière's *Avare* veranlasst, *nich direkt aus Plautus* geschöpft worden."[4] This is plainly disproved both by Shakespeare's and Ben Jonson's plays. Shylock is in some respects

[1] Anden, H. W., The *Pseudolus* of Plautus. Introd. and Notes, 1896.

[2] Cicero, Cato Mai., XIV, 50.

[3] Anden, H. W., The *Pseudolus* of Plautus. Introd. and Notes, 1896.

[4] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 306.

copied, apparently from Euclio in the *Au.* Mr. von Reinhardstoettner has omitted all notice of the fact that Shakespeare when he drew Shylock had either heard or read of Euclio. Both misers lose a daughter and are robbed of their money, and lament their loss in agitated and exaggerated terms. Compare the speech of Euclio beginning, *Perii, interii, occidi*, l. 713, with the account given by Salanio of Shylock lamenting over his ducats ; or Shylock's own words, beginning, " There ! there, there ! there ! " The spirit is so like as to produce conviction that there is imitation here.[1] Note the similarity also in the following :

MEG. . . . lapidés loqueris.[2]
"I will speak daggers to her, but use none." [3]
"She speaks poniards." [4]
Ρόδα μ' εἴρημας' = "you have spoken roses at me." [5]

And again :

Quam orátionem hanc aúres dulcem déuorant.[6]
" And with a greedy ear
Devour up my discourse." [7]

Rosalind, in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (A. V, s. 2), says : " O, I know where you are : nay, 'tis true ; there was never anything so sudden but the fight of two rams and Caesar's *thrasonical* brag of ' I came,

[1] Quarterly Review, Vol. 173, p. 58, 1891.
[2] Plautus, *Au.*, ll. 151, 152.
[3] Shakespeare, Wm., *Hamlet*, A. III, s. 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, A. II, s. 4.
[5] Aristophanes. Cf. Riley, Tr. of Plautine Comedies, Note I, 1852, p. 381. Cf. Plautus, Tr. into Familiar Blank Verse, by Bonnell Thornton, Notes.
[6] Plautus, *Au.*, l. 968.
[7] Shakespeare, Wm., *Othello.*

saw, and overcame.' " *Thrasonical* is an adjective from the bragging soldier of Terence's *Eunuchus*. Rolfe says, however, " It is not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare had read Terence, for the word was already in use." [1] Mr. Bonnell Thornton, quoting from Colman, says : " There is a passage in Shakespeare, so extremely like the following, that I can scarce think it possible, but that justly admired dramatick writer must have had his eye upon it " [2] :

EV. Quín tu istas omíttis nugas ác mecum huc intro ámbulas?
CHA. Hóspes respondít Zacynthi físcos fieri nón malas.
<EV.> Níl mentitust. CHA. Séd de amica se índaudi(u)isse aútuma(n)t
Híc Athenis ésse.[3]

The passage referred to is the colloquy between Prince Henry and Falstaff, in *I Henry IV.*, A. I, s. 2. The following, from the *B.*, l. 699, is very similar to lines in the *Taming of the Shrew :*

MN. Si tu íllum solem síbi solem esse díceres,
Se íllum lunam crédere esse et nóctem qui nunc ést dies.

The Merry Wives of Windsor owes something to the *Miles Gloriosus*. It seems unquestionable that Shakespeare knew of the *Mi.* when he conceived this play. Besides Falstaff,[4] he may have been influenced to some extent by the ancient type in drawing Arnado, Parolles,[5] and Pistol. Were it not for the resemblance,

[1] Rolfe, ed. of Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Notes.

[2] Plautus, Tr. into Familiar Blank Verse, by Bonnell Thornton, Notes, p. 197.

[3] Plautus, *Mercator*, l. 942 *sqq.*

[4] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 81. Cf. p. 672 *sq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

however, which exists between the two plays as a whole, it might be doubted whether Falstaff of *Henry IV.* were even in the remotest degree inspired by Pyrgopolinices. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, on the other hand, the imitation is palpable.[1] Shakespeare had considerable opportunity of becoming acquainted with Plautus and Terence. We have seen that plays of Plautus and Terence were acted in Shakespeare's time in colleges, theatres and private houses, and that it is an historical fact. Warton (III, 309) says: "I believe, the frequency of these school-plays suggested the names of Seneca and Plautus as dramatic authors." When Polonius says, "Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light,"[2] he implies that the works of these authors were stock pieces for representation. Occasional striking resemblances in expression tend in the same direction, and we may instance one passage where the similarity is especially noticeable. When Hamlet says to his mother, "Assume a virtue if you have it not," he is repeating almost literally the precept of Amphitruo to Alcmena:

Sáltem, tute sí pudoris égeas, sumas mútuom.[3]

Here the resemblance is so precise, and the introduction in each case so similar, that Shakespeare must have had the Plautine verse in mind. And why not? Is it improbable that Shakespeare, who must have been brought constantly in contact with the mention of the Plautine comedies, should ever have had the desire and industry to find out for himself what the

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, pp. 78 and 673.

[2] Shakespeare, Wm., *Hamlet*, A. II, s. 2. Cf. Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 77, Note 4.

[3] Plautus, *Amphitruo*, l. 819.

Roman poet was worth? That he "had small Latin and less Greek," as Ben Jonson claimed, means that he had some Latin, and apparently sufficient to give him a knowledge of the Plautine comedies, as his imitations show. But if these isolated passages prove nothing, there remains the internal evidence, which, to a sensitive mind, will doubtless outweigh any external improbability. If his knowledge was insufficient and training was lacking, it is not inconceivable that he should apply to Ben Jonson for aid. The most probable hypothesis, however, seems to be that W. W. (Wm. Warner) had translated *all* the plays of Plautus by 1595, although he had published only the *Mn.*, and that Shakespeare had access to the MSS. The conclusion must be that Shakespeare was acquainted with the writings of Plautus, but not intimately; and that after the *Comedy of Errors*, he preferred to draw his plots from a broader field. This is not the case, however, with some of his characters, situations and expressions, where the resemblance is too close and frequent to be the result of coincidence. Still more convincing is the similarity between the humor of the two poets, and yet Shakespeare cannot properly be styled a direct imitator of Plautus, as Ben Jonson is, for the proportion of Plautine ideas in Shakespeare remains trivial. They are only the leaven unavoidably perhaps, and unconsciously assimilated by the poet. The imitation is not the essential thing, or if it is, it has been so changed and improved in the resetting that the appropriation is overlooked. Where Plautus is simply amusing, Shakespeare is both amusing and suggestive.[1]

We may get a fair idea of a Plautine comedy from

[1] Plautus and Terence, National Quarterly, Vol. 34, p. 71.

the *L'Etourdi* of Molière, where the main idea of the chief character is furnished by the *Bacchides*. Molière's play would have furnished arguments for several Plautine comedies, but the conception and carrying out are quite Plautine. Not only the *B.* and *Ps.*, but the *Po.*, *Cp.*, and *E.*, are laid under contribution in the *L'Etourdi*. Besides the imitation just noted, the disguise of the Armenian is copied from the *Po.* Although Molière's humor seldom equals that of the Plautine comedies, he excels in these lines :

> "C'est que dans tous les mots ils changent *nis* en *rin ;*
> Et pour dire Tunis, ils prononcent Turin."

Molière also borrowed from Plautus two familiar comedies, *i. e.*, the *L'Avare* and the *Amphitruo*. From the *Am.* Rotrou also derived his *Les deux Sosia*. Mr. Drummond says of Ben Jonson, "that he had an intention to have made a play like Plautus' *Am.*, but left it off, for that he could never find two so like one to the other that he could persuade the spectator that they were one." [1] "Indessen fehlt es nicht an vollständigen Durchführungen des *Amphitruo* in England. Ben Jonson hatte die Idee, einen *Amphitruo* zu schreiben ; gab sie jedoch auf, weil er an der Möglichkeit, sie wahrscheinlich zu gestalten, verzweifelte." [2]

The Plautine plots are so simple that his imitators frequently err and overload them with new material. Then, too, the easy and natural dialogue of these comedies is deceptive. The question of the relative superiority of the *Am.* of Molière and Plautus has often

[1] Drummond, Wm., Conversations with Ben Jonson, Shakespeare Soc. Pub.

[2] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 193.

been debated.[1] In the former the fine Grecian tone is naturally wanting, and he has frequently degenerated from his original. There are no fine lines describing the perfection of a wife such as the following :

AL. Nón ego illam mihi dótem duco ésse, quae dos dícitur,
Séd pudicitiam ét pudorem et sédatum cupídinem,
Deúm metum, paréntum amorem et cógnatum concórdiam,
Tíbi morigera atque út munifica sím bonis, prosím probis.[2]

Sellar thinks this "is the noblest realization of the virtue of womanhood to be found in ancient literature." In the *L'Avare*, Molière has greatly improved on his model in parts. But good as it is, it is doubtful whether it is the best modern imitation of the Latin comedy. The palm is contested by the *Warenar* of Hooft.[3] Such critics as Hugo de Groot and James Brockhousius, and the poet Vondel, extol the strong homespun of the Dutch play as surpassing its original in merit.

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 182.
[2] Plautus, *Amphitruo*, ll. 839–842.
[3] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 298.

IV.

DIRECT INFLUENCE ON THE COMEDIES OF BEN JONSON.

"WE have splendid tragedies, we have the most beautiful of poetic plays, and we have literary comedies passingly pleasant to read," says Mr. George Meredith, "comedies of classic inspiration, drawn chiefly from Menander, and the Greek New Comedy, through Terence (and Plautus?); or else comedies of the poet's personal conception, that have had no model in life, and are humorous exaggerations, happy or otherwise. These are the comedies of Ben Jonson, Massinger, and Fletcher." [1]

With the ancient comedians for his models, Ben Jonson, in writing plays, endeavored to bring the English stage into conformity with their rules. "The theories," says Dr. Schelling, "which Ben Jonson held about literature, were those of a classicist. He believed in the criticism of Horace, and the rhetoric of Quintilian. . . . He believed that the English Drama should follow the example of the *uetus comoedie*." [2] The rules, laid down by him in the preface to *The Alchemist*, did not immediately gain favor. Romantic tendencies were in the ascendency, and it was considered that Jonson had overestimated the classical side of art.

[1] Meredith, Geo., An Essay on Comedy and The Uses of The Comic Spirit.

[2] Schelling, Felix E., Ph.D., Ben Jonson and the Classical School.

The comedy of manners, which he derived from antique models, brought fixed types of character, rather than individuals into play, and in this respect he may be regarded as having diverged most radically from the spirit of the Shakespearian drama. Jonson starts with the character when it is fully formed, and at the moment when the controlling passion is dominating the individual ; when the character is absorbed in its particular humor. Jonson conceived humor, first taken in its narrower sense of personal temperament, and later applied to the wider sphere of social manners, to be the proper medium for the comic playwright.

Pha. And then, I to have a book made of all this, which I would call the "Book of Humours," and every night, read a little piece ere I slept, and laugh at it.[1]

His idea of comedy was identical with Cicero's ; he believed that a comedy should be an *imitatio vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis.* Jonson ever delighted

> "To laugh and chuck
> At the variety and throng of humours
> And dispositions, that come jostling in
> And out still."

His comic genius is a genius of caricature and exaggeration ; " his wit is admirable, laughable, laudable, but not altogether delightful."[2] It was not for the amusement of the Court that Jonson wrote his comedies. For that the Masques and Entertainments were written, which, as Mr. Meredith says, " are dearer to the rabble upper, as to the rabble lower class, than

[1] Jonson, Ben, *Cynthia's Revels*, A. IV, s. 1.
[2] Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Ben Jonson, 1889.

intellectual comedy." [1] The comic of Jonson's genius is the scholar's idea of the comic, and not the moralist's. His keen, incisive wit takes the form of constructive mirth, and unsparing caricature. He employs the same colors again and again, without relief or variety, and yet his comic art embraces all forms and variety of comedy, ranging from the highest and most delicate to the lowest and most farcical.

"Morose," says Mr. Swinburne, "as a victimized monomaniac, is rather a figure of farce than of comedy; Captain Otter and his termigant (conceptions taken from the Plautine fables) are characters of comedy rather broad than high; . . . but the collegiate ladies . . . recall rather the comedies than the farces of Molière." [2]

Jonson had unlimited powers of imagining ludicrous situations, and of painting from the vulgar model. Like Plautus he is frequently bluntly truthful. Doll's Newgate slang, equalled by the Bowery billingsgate of Sosia and of Sosia Mercury, in the *Amphitruo*, is a faithful transcript from the lower life. Like the characters in the Plautine fables, Jonson's greatest creations are cheats or dupes; the greatest dupe being Sir Epicure Mammon, and the greatest cheat, Volpone. With the spirit of the old comedian, Jonson only too frequently ends a contest of mind by blows with the fists, which silence if they do not convince.

It is to be regretted that the influence of Plautus on the style and method of Jonson was not more permanent.[3] No poet of his age came near to him in the

[1] Meredith, Geo., An Essay on Comedy and The Uses of The Comic Spirit, p. 16.

[2] Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Ben Jonson, 1889, p. 11.

[3] *Ibid.*

strong conviction of the gravity of his vocation. He believed that the playwright had a serious duty to discharge ; that the dramatic poet must aim at instruction, as well as at delight. He continuously sacrificed subordinate considerations to the æsthetic end of dramatic art,—the dramatic effect.[1]

> "The end of all, who for the scene do write,
> Are, or should be, to profit and delight." [2]

The suffrage of the people must be conquered, and dramas should "be written not to charm the popular ear, but to educate it." [3]

> "For — to present all custard, or all tart,
> And have no other meat to bear a part,
> Or to want bread and salt, were but coarse art." [4]

In the two comedies, *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599), and *The Magnetic Lady* (1632), the one written at the opening of his career, the other near its close, Jonson thus makes mention of Plautus :

Cor. Ay! what think you of Plautus, in his comedy called *Cistellaria?* There, where he brings in Alcesimarchus with a drawn sword ready to kill himself . . .? Is not *his* authority of power to give *our scene* approbation?

Mit. Sir, I have this only evasion left me, to say, I think it be so indeed: your memory is happier than mine.[5]

. . . . . .

Maci. . . . marry, I will not do as Plautus in his *Amphitruo*, for all this, *summi Jovis causâ plaudite;* beg a plaudit for God's sake; but if you, out of the bounty of your good

[1] Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Ben Jonson, 1889.
[2] Jonson, Ben, Prologue to *The Silent Woman.*
[3] Symonds, J. A., Ben Jonson, 1888.
[4] Jonson, Ben, Prologue to *The Silent Woman.*
[5] *Ibid.*, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, A. III, s. 2.

liking, will bestow it, why, you may in time make lean Macilente as fat as Sir John Falstaff.

Dam. But whom doth your poet mean now by this master Bias? what lord's secretary doth he purpose to personate or perstringe?

Pro. . . . It is an insidious question, brother Damplay: iniquity itself would not have urged it. It is picking the lock of the scene, not opening it the fair way with a key. A play, though it apparel and present vices in general, flies from all particularities in persons. Would you ask of Plautus, and Terence, if they both lived now, who were Davus or Pseudolus in the scene, who Pyrgopolinices or Thraso? who Euclio or Menedemus?[1]

. . . . . .

Dam. You have heard, boy, the ancient poets had it in their purpose, still to please the people.

Pro. Ay, their chief aim was—

Dam. *Populo ut placerent:* if he understands so much,—

Boy. *Quas fecissent fabulas.* — I understand that since I learned *Terence*, in the third form at Westminster: go on, Sir.[2]

This is evidence sufficient to prove that Jonson was familiar with the plays of Plautus, either in the original or through translations, and that he looked upon him as a guide; indeed, it is quite evident that he had Plautus continually in view, and even his most comic character, Captain Bobadill, is in its ideal only a more tasteful, moderate, and inventive imitation of the extravagant Miles Gloriosus.

If Plautus had never done anything more than to suggest the outline for a play which gave to the world Sir Hugh Evans, Dr. Caius, mine host of The Garter, and Master Slender, he would have earned the gratitude of posterity. Bobadill is, after Falstaff, the best known of the characters which owe their creation to the brag-

[1] Jonson, Ben, *The Magnetic Lady*, A. II, s. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, Induction.

ging officer. Mr. von Reinhardstoettner says: "Die Ausgaben der hervorragendsten englischen Bühnendichter weisen zahlreiche Reminiszenzen an die alten komiker auf. Nicht bloss der gelehrte Ben Jonson (geb. 11. Juni, 1574; gest. 16. August, 1637) steht in seinem Stücke *The Case is Altered* auf dem Boden der *Aulularia* und *Captivi* und streift die *Mostellaria* in seinem *Alchemist*, die *Casina* in seiner *Epicoene*, den *Miles* mit seinem Kapitän Bobadill, auch andere zeigen allenthalben die Spuren der Alten.[1] . . . Ben Jonson, 'dessen Vorbilder die alten Meister Terenz und Plautus waren,'[2] hat in seiner komödie *Every Man in His Humour*, die so zuerst 1598 gespielt, aber erst 1616 gedruckt wurde, in dem Captain Bobadyll, 'a Paul's man,' einen prächtigen Miles gloriosus geschaffen."[3]

Dramatic authors have caught at the conception of the type of the boasting officer, rather than the manner in which Plautus treated it. The original was from life. He was a well-known character at Athens in the fourth and third centuries B.C. In the wine taverns and the barber shops of the Piræus, these mercenary captains, returning from service with Antigonus and Seleucus, were wont to tell exaggerated stories of their exploits to the home-keeping Athenians. The only way to ridicule a lie is to tell a greater one, so the comedians who satirized them were compelled to invent stories which transcended all possibility. Therefore, Pyrgopolinices is only prevented by the bluntness of his sword from killing five hundred Cappadocians at one blow; and Athemonides relates how he, unaided, annihilated a tribe of flying men. Terence, on the

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 79.
[2] Taine, Hist. of Eng. Lit., I, 404.
[3] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 675.

other hand, makes his bragging soldier boast of his wit, rather than of his prowess in war.

"The braggart is a character that the whole world has delighted to cudgel with wordy weapons. He who could plan, he who could by his special rules, his punto, his reverso, his stoccata, and the like, undertake the challenge and defeat of forty thousand men, is destined by his malignant star to be the despised and confounded patient of a bastinado." [1]

With Thraso, discretion is the better part of valor. Bobadill is not only a boaster, but an arrant coward as well. Thraso is vain of his wit; Bobadill admires poetry and possesses more individuality than the stock soldiers of the ancient comedy. He is also frugal and sober, and his lies have an apparent show of reason. "He is the prince of conceit; the very obscure poverty of his lodging is to prevent too great resort; his science of defence is the light, and his courage the fire, of the martial world, while his oaths are the very conversation of art military and travelled boldness. If the world would good-naturedly look at the character from the idea of its fanciful and creative possessor, this is Bobadill. But the world is impertinent enough to break in upon his ideal grandeur and enviously to reduce him to the feelings of inglorious frailty." [2]

Gifford says: "Bobadill is a creature *sui generis*, and perfectly original. The soldier of the Greek comedy, from whom Whalley wishes to derive him, as far as we can collect from the scattered remains of it, or from its eternal copyists, Plautus and Terence, had not many traits in common with Bobadill. Pyrgopolinices, and other captains with hard names, are usually wealthy; but Bobadill is poor, as indeed are most of

[1] Retros. Review, Vol. I, p. 181. [2] *Ibid.*

his profession, which, whatever it might be in Greece, has never been a gainful one in this country. They are profligate and luxurious ; but Bobadill is stained with no inordinate vice, and is so frugal, that ' a bunch of radishes and a pipe to close the orifice of his stomach ' satisfy all his wants. . . . The vanity of the ancient soldier is accompanied with such stupidity, that the temptation to mirth is lessened, whereas Bobadill is really amusing. This gravity, which is of the most inflexible nature, contrasts admirably with the situations into which he is thrown, and though beaten, baffled and disgraced, he never so far forgets himself as to aid in his own discomfiture. He has no soliloquies like Bessus and Parolles to betray his real character, to expose himself to contempt, nor does he break through the decorum of the scene. . . . Bobadill has many distinguishing traits, and until a preceding braggart shall be discovered with something more than big words and beating to characterize him, it may not be amiss to allow Jonson the credit of having depended entirely on his own resources." [1]

Without doubt he learned the principles of comedy from the ancients, Plautus and Terence ; for they were not to be derived from moderns at home or abroad ; but he could not draw from them the application of living passions and manners, and it would be no less unfair, as Mr. Gifford has observed, to make Bobadill a copy of Thraso, than to deny the dramatic originality of Kitely. Bobadill is the most colossal coward and braggart of the comic stage. He offers to settle the affairs of Europe by associating with himself twenty other Bobadills, as cunning i' the face as himself, and

[1] Ed. Gifford, I, 160. Cf. Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 675.

challenging an army of forty thousand men, twenty at a time, and killing the whole in a certain number of days.[1]

Plautus in the *Curculio*, l. 442 *sqq.*, has this idea worked out, with the exception that Therapontigonus accomplishes the deed *unaided:*

CV. Dicam: quía enim Persas, Páphlagonas,
Sinópas, Arabes, Cáres, Cretanós, Syros,
Rhodiam, átque Lyciam, Péredíam et Perbíbesiam,
Centaúromachiam et Clássiam Vnomámmiam
Libyámque †oram omnem Conterebrómniam,
Dimídiam partem nátionum usque ómnium
Subégit solus ínt[e]r[e]a uigintí dies.

But on the whole Therapontigonus seems to be a milder member of the class of braggarts of which Pyrgopolinices and Bobadill are such admirable specimens.

Bob. Indeed, that might be some loss; but who respects it? I will tell you, sir, by the way of private, and under seal; I am a gentleman, and live here obscure, and to myself; but were I known to her majesty and the lords,—observe me,—I would undertake, upon

PY. Vólup est, quod agas si íd procedit lépide at<que ex>senténtia.
Nam égo hodie ad Seleúcum regem mísi parasitúm meum,
Vt latrones quós conduxi hinc ád Seleucum dúcere<t>:
Qui éius regnum tútarentur, míhi dum fieret ótium.
ll. 947–950. *Mi.*
PY. Curáte ut splendor meó sit clipeo clárior,
Quam sólis radii esse ólim quom sudúmst solent:
Vt, ubi úsus ueniat, cóntra consertá manu

[1] Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 20, p. 403, 1867.

this poor head and life, for the public benefit of the state, not only to spare the entire lives of her subjects in general; but to save the one half, nay, three parts of her yearly charge in holding war, and against what enemy soever. And how would I do it, think you?

E. Know. Nay, I know not, nor can I conceive.

Bob. Why thus, sir. I would select nineteen more, to myself, throughout the land; gentlemen they should be of good spirit, strong and able constitution; I would choose them by an instinct, a character that I have: and I would teach these nineteen the special rules, as your punto, your reverso, your stoccata, your imbroccato, your passada, your montanto; till they could all play very near, or altogether as well as myself. This done, say the enemy were forty thousand strong, we twenty would come into the field the tenth of March, or thereabouts; and we would challenge twenty of the enemy; they could not in their honour refuse us: Well, we would kill them; challenge twenty more, kill them; twenty more, kill them; twenty more, kill them too; and thus would we kill every man his

Praestríngat oculorum áciem
in acie | hóstibus.
Nam ego hánc machaeram
míhi consolarí uolo,
Ne lámentetur néue animum
despóndeat,
Quia sé iam pridem f[i]ériat-
[t]am géstitem,
Quae mísera gestit [et] † fratrem facere ex hóstibus.
Sed ubi Ártotrogus híc est?
AR. Stat proptér uirum
Fortem átque fortunátum et
forma régia.
Tam béllatorem Márs<se>
haud ausit dícere
Neque aéquiperare suás uirtutes ád tuas.
PY. Quemne égo seruaui in
cámpis Curculiónieis,
Vbi Búmbomachides Clútomestoridysárchides
Erat ímperator súmmus, Neptuní nepos?
AR. Meminí: nempe illum
dícis cum armis aúreis,
Quoius tú legiones díffiauisti
spíritu
Quasi uéntus folia <a>ut
pániculum tectórium.
PY. Istúc quidem edepol níl
est.

ll. 1–19. *Mi.*

AR. . . . edepol uél elephanto in Índia
Quo pácto ei pugno praéfregisti brácchium.
PY. Quid, brácchium? AR.
Illud dícere uoluí: femur.

twenty a day, that 's twenty score; twenty score, that 's two hundred; two hundred a day, five days a thousand; forty thousand; forty times five, five times forty; two hundred days kills them all up by computation. And this will I venture my poor gentleman-like carcass to perform, provided there be no treason practiced upon us, by fair and discreet manhood; that is, civilly, by the sword.

Every Man in His Humour, A. IV, s. 5.

PY. At indíligenter íceram. ll. 25–28. *Mi.*

PY. Ecquíd meminisli? AR. Mémini: centum in Cílicia
Et quínquaginta, céntum in Scytholátronia,
Trigínta Sardis, séxaginta Mácedones
Sunt hómines quos tu | óccidisti unó die.
PY. Quanta ístaec hominum súmmast? AR. Septem mília.
PY. Tantum ésse oportet: récte rationém tenes. ll. 42–47. *Mi.*

In the *Curculio*, we have something similar, in spirit if not in words:

TH. Nón ego nunc mediocri incedo irátus iracúndia,
Séd eapse illa qua éxcidionem fácere condidici óppidis.
Núnc nisi tu mihi própere properas dáre iam trigintá minas
Quás ego apud te déposiui, uítam propera pónere. ll. 533–536. *Mi.*

The soldiers of the New Attic Comedy are always made out to be fools, who roar around, and rant about — in Bowery fashion — to be gulled in the end. It is not surprising then that these three braggadocios, Pyrgopolinices, Bobadill and Therapontigonus are brought to shame and two receive their cudgelling after the manner of Plautus, in much the same way.

Down. O, Pharaoh's foot, have I found you? Come, draw to your tools; draw, gipsy, or I 'll thrash you.

Bob. Gentleman of valour, I do believe in thee; hear me——

Down. Draw your weapon then.

Bob. Tall man, I never thought on it till now—Body of me, I had a warrant of the peace served on me, even now as I came along, by a water-bearer; this gentleman saw it, Master Mathew.

Down. 'Sdeath! you will not draw then? [*Disarms and beats him.*

Bob. Hold, hold! under thy favour forbear!

. . . . . .

Bob. I cannot tell, sir; I desire good construction in fair sort. I never sustain'd the like disgrace, by heaven! sure I was struck with a planet

PE. Dúcite istum: sí non sequitur, rápite sublimém foras.
Fácite inter terram átque caelum ut sít: †discindite.
PY. Óbsecro hercle, Périplec-[t]omene, té.

. . . . . .

PY. Périi.

. . . . . .

<PY.> Oíei, satis sum uérberatus: óbsecro.

. . . . . .

PY. Ópsecro hercle te, út mea uerba aúdias prius quám secat.

. . . . . .

PY. Iúro per Iouem ét Mauortem mé nociturum némini,
Quód ego hic hodie uápularim: iúreque id factum árbitror:
Ét si intestatús non abeo hinc, béne agitur pro nóxia.

. . . . . .

PY. Mítis sum equidem fústibus:

. . . . . .

PY. Vae miseró mihi:
Vérba mihi data ésse uideo. scélus uiri Palaéstrio,
Ís me in hanc inléxit fraudem. ll. 1394–1435. *Mi.*

thence, for I had no power to touch my weapon.

E. Know. Ay, like enough; I have heard of many that have been beaten under a planet: go, get you to a surgeon.
Every Man in His Humour, A. IV, s. 5.

So Therapontigonus in the *Cu.*, l. 555 *sq.*:

TH. Quíd ego nunc faciám? quid refert mé fecisse régibus
Vt mi oboedirént, si hic me hodie umbráticus deríserit?

Again, l. 572 *sqq.*:

TH. Léno minitatúr mihi
Meaéque pugnae proéliares plúrumae optritaé iacent?
Át ita me machaéra et clypeus
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
Béne iuuent pugnántem in acie: nísi mi[hi] uirgo réd-ditur,
Iam égo te faciam ut híc formicae frústillatim dífferant.

And l. 589 *sq.*:

TH. Quíd ego faciam? máneam an abeam? sícine mihi esse os óblitum?
Cúpio dare mercédem qui illunc úbi sit commonstrét mihi.

"In Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* findet sich wieder 'a vain-glorious knight' in der Gestalt des Puntarvolo. Gifford nimmt diesen und Bobadill für wirkliche Persönlichkeiten.[1] Im *Poetaster*, or his arraignment,[2] treffen wir auf eine verwandte Figur in Pantilius Tucca, den Davies als eine 'wretched copy of Falstaff' bezeichnet, wogegen Gif-

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 677. Cf. Ed. Gifford, II, 213. "No one believes that Bobadill was a mere creature of the imagination."

[2] *Ibid.*, Note 3. Cf. Rapp, Studien, S. 223.

ford eifert.[1]—Auch Dekker's Captain Tucca und Congreve's Noll Bluff[2] sind ziemlich ungeschickt Ben Jonson's Bobadill nachgeahmt." [3]

With the one exception of Bobadill, the character of Captain Pantilius Tucca is the brightest and best of Jonson's inventions. In comic effect, Bobadill was much the superior character.[4] "The delightful cowardice, and inoffensive pretension of Bobadill," says Mr. Swinburne, "is admirably contrasted with the blatant vulgarity and flagrant rascality of Tucca." [5]

The *Mostellaria*, or Hob-goblin, is generally called in English translations *The Haunted House*. This play has no plot strictly speaking, and the interest is centred in the ludicrous efforts of the slave, Tranio, to prevent the master, Theuropides, just returned from abroad, from entering the house which is represented as being haunted. The truth is that Theuropides' son and a congenial spirit have been enjoying a carouse there in view of which his sudden appearance is *mal à propos*. The play is coarse in its conception, and has little to recommend it to popular favor; it is chiefly remarkable as being the original of Regnard's *Le Retour Imprévu*, and Fielding's *Intriguing Chambermaid*.

Mr. von Reinhardstoettner in his analysis of this comedy says: "Noch wird von Flögel,[6] Fuhrman,[7]

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 677, Note 4. Cf. Ed. Gifford, II, 550.

[2] *Ibid.*, Note 5. Cf. Ed. Gifford, I, 214. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Symonds, J. A., Ben Jonson, 1888.

[5] Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Ben Jonson, 1889, p. 25.

[6] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 488, Note 1. Cf. Gesch. d. k. Litt., III, 217.

[7] *Ibid.*, Note 2. Cf. Handbuch, III, 51.

und Rapp [1] Ben Jonson's Lustspiel *The Alchemist* das zuerst 1610 aufgeführt wurde, mit der *Mostellaria* in Zusammenhang gebracht. 'Die Situation,' sagt Rapp (a. a. O.), 'ist übrigens aus Plautus' *Mostellaria* entlehnt und in London lokalisiert . . . Die katastrophe durch die Ankunft des Londoner Bürgers, wie in der *Mostellaria*.' Dryden hält den *Alchemist* für ein Plagiat des *Albumazar*, wodurch die innere Beziehung beider Stücke zu Plautus hergestellt wäre." [2]

The Fox and *The Alchemist*, although the materials of the latter are purely English, have something in their cast and manner of treatment, which makes them read like Plautus and Terence, many times enriched and elaborated.

"Der *Alchemist*," says Mr. von Reinhardstoettner, "in welchem uns an Sir Epicure Mammon eine Art Falstaff entgegentritt, mag, da ja Ben Jonson ein gründlicher kenner der Alten war und ihrer an zahlreichen stellen seiner Lustspiele gedenkt, das eine oder andere Plautus schulden; eine Nachahmung der *Mostellaria* ist er nicht. Der Inhalt in nachstehendem Akrostichon spricht am besten für diese Behauptung." [3]

"**T**he sickness hot, a master quit, for fear,
His house in town, and left one servant there;
Ease him corrupted, and gave means to know
A Cheater, and his punk; who now brought low,
Leaving their narrow practice, were become
Cozeners at large; and only wanting some
House to set up, with him they here contract,
Each for a share, and all begin to act.

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 488, Note 3. Cf. Studien, S. 230.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

Much company they draw, and much abuse,
In casting figures, telling fortunes, news,
Selling of flies, flat bawdry, with the stone,
Till it and they, and all in fume are gone." [1]

" Durch Subtle und seine Genossen, Face und Dol Common, wird die Dummheit der Menschen, welche an den vermeintlichen Alchemisten und seine Wunderleistungen glauben, solange ausgenützt, bis endlich der ganze Missbrauch aufgedeckt wird, da der Besitzer des Hauses, Love-Wit, zurückkehrt. Er hört, wie lebhaft es in seinem Hause während seiner Abwesenheit zuging, von den Nachbarn (v, 1) welche ihm die wunderbarsten Dinge erzählen. Auf sein Klopfen wird ihm nicht geantwortet :

'This 's strange ! that none will answer.'

Face ist der erste, der hervortritt."

Face. Good Sir, come from the door!
Lov. Why? what 's the matter?
Face. Yet farther, you are too near yet.
Lov. In the name of wonder! What means the fellow?
Face. The house, sir, has been visited.
Lov. What, with the plague? stand thou then farther!
Face. No, sir, I had it not.
Lov. Who had it then? I left
None else but thee in the house!
Face. Yes, sir, my fellow,
The cat that kept the buttery, had it on her
A week before I spied it; but I got her
Convey'd away, in the night. And so I shut
The house up for a month.[2]

And Mr. von Reinhardstoettner adds, " ohne weitere

[1] Jonson, Ben, *The Alchemist.* Acrostic argument.
[2] *Ibid.*, A. V, s. 1.

Anklänge an die *Mostellaria*." [1] This conclusion seems to be precipitate, for farther on occurs convincing evidence that Jonson drew directly from the *Mostellaria* for this portion of the play.

Compare the reflection of Face, with the soliloquy of Tranio, in this scene of the Latin play, and note the great similarity. This resemblance cannot be merely accidental—such as would arise from treating two subjects partially similar — but it is rather a direct copy :

TH. Sed quíd hoc? occlusa iánuast intérdius.
Pultábo. <h>eus, [h]ecquis <híc> est? aperitín foris?
TR. Quis homóst qui nostras aédes accessít prope?
[*Face*. What mean you, sir?]
TH. Meus séruos hicquidemst Tránio. ll. 444-447. *Mo.*
[1. 2. 4. *Nei*. O, here 's Jeremy !]

At this point, Jonson has abridged what Plautus has greatly elaborated. We readily perceive, however, that this would be a special opportunity for Plautus, which he would make the most of for the purpose of creating a laugh, as the scene is exceedingly ludicrous.

TH. Quid uós, insanin éstis? TR. Quidum? TH. Síc: quia
Foris ámbulatis: nátus nemo in aédibus
Seruát, neque qui reclúdat neque qui[s] † respondeat.
Pultándo [pedibus] paene cónfregi <h>asce ambás <foris>.
TR. E<h>o, an tú[te] tetigisti has aédis? TH. Cur non tángerem
Quin púltando, inquam, paéne confregí foris.
TR. Tetigístin? TH. Tetigi, inquam, ét pultaui. TR. Váh. TH. Quid est?
TR. Male hércle factum. TH. Quíd est negoti? TR. Nón potest
Dicí quam indignum fácinus fecisti ét malum.

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 489.

TH. Quid iám. TR. Fuge obsecro átque abscede ab aédibus :
Fuge húc, fuge ad me própius. tetigistín foris ?
TH. Quo módo pultare pótui, si non tángerem ? ll. 450–462.
TR. Capitále scelus factú<m>st. TH. Quid est? non intéllego. l. 475.

The space occupied by the fabrication of the murdered man, coincides with that taken up by Lovewit in the rehearsal of the reports of the neighbors. The incident of the noise heard within the house, is, with a slight variation, the same in both.

Face. [*Goes to the door.*]
Good faith, sir, I believe
There 's no such thing : 't is all *deceptio visus*—
Would I could get him away. [*Aside.*
Dap. [*within.*] Master captain ! master doctor !
Love. Who 's that ?
Face. Our clerk within, that I forgot ! [*Aside.*
I know not, sir.
. . . . . .
Face. Ha !
Illusions, some spirit o' the air !—His gag is melted,
And now he sets out the throat. [*Aside.*
Dap. [*within.*] I am almost stifled—
Face. Would you were altogether. [*Aside.*
Love. 'T is in the house. Ha ! list.
Face. Believe it, sir, in the air.
Love. Peace, you.

TH. Quid óbsecro hercle fáctumst ? TR. Concrepuít foris.
<INTVS> Hicíne percussit ? TH. Gúttam haud habeo sánguinis :
Viuóm me accersunt Á[d]cheruntem mórtui.
<TR.> Per<ii:> íllisce hodie hanc cónturbabunt fábulam.
Nimis quám formido, né manufesto hic me ópprimat.
TH. Quid túte <te> cum lóquere ? <TR.> Abscede ab iánua :
Fuge, óbsecro hercle. TH. Quó fugiam ? Etiam tú fuge[s].
TR. Nil égo formido : páx mihist cum mórtuis.
INTVS. Heus, Tránio. <TR.> (*In a low voice, near the door.*) Non me áppellabis, sí sapis.
Nil égo commerui, néque istas percussí fores.

Dap. [*within.*] Mine aunt's grace does not use me well.
Sub. [*within.*] You fool,
Peace, you 'll mar all.
Face. [*speaks through the key-hole, while Lovewit advances to the door unobserved.*] Or you will else, you rogue.
Love. O, is it so? Then you converse with spirits!—
Come, sir. No more of your tricks, &c.

The Alchemist, A. V, s. 1.

Face. Surly come!
And Mammon made acquainted! they 'll tell all.
How shall I beat them off? what shall I do?
Nothing's more wretched than a guilty conscience. [*Aside.*

Ibid.

Quaeso ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — Quid? ségreges
⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ <TH. Quaé r>es te agitat, Tránio?
[TR.] Quicum ísta[h]ec loquere?

ll. 507–519.

TR. Nunc pól ego perii pláne in perpetuóm modum.
Danísta adest, qui dédit ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ —
Qui amícast empta quóque— ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ —
Manufésta res est, . . .
Metuó ne de hac re quíppiam in <d> audíuerit.
. . . . . .
Nil ést miserius quam ánimus hominis cónscius,
Sicút me <male> habet.

ll. 536–545.

The Plautine words, quoted verbatim, and their relative position in scenes similar in spirit and idea, seem to leave little room for doubt that Jonson has here made a direct copy from the old play. The servants, Face and Tranio, on whose trickery the play turns, are forgiven in much the same way:

Face . . . You need not fear the house;
It was not visited.
Love. But by me, who came
Sooner than you expected.
Face. It is true, sir.
'Pray you forgive me.

The Alchemist, A. V, s. 1.

CA. Mítte, quaes <o>, istum.

l. 1172.

No mention, I think, has been made of the great similarity in the visions of wealth and glory of Gripus, in the *R.*, and those of the real hero in *The Alchemist.* As with Gripus, Sir Epicure Mammon is inflated with visions of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. "It is of little moment to demur that Mammon's day-dreams are 'incongruous with his quality of a city knight,' and that half of what he says is 'borrowed from the Augustan Histories.' (!) Jonson was depicting a hyperbolical character; and it served his purpose to gather the vices and luxuries of *all nations* into one delirious vision. Sir Epicure Mammon exhibits in his rhetoric the calenture of a brain inflated by the expectation of absolutely illimitable power over nature." [1]

Now let us compare these visions of Sir Epicure Mammon with those of Gripus, in the old Roman play, and see if we cannot find their source here rather than in the "Augustan Histories," referred to.

GR. Nunc haec tibi occasio, Gripe, optigit, ut † liberes ex populo praeter te.
Nunc síc faciam, sic cónsiliumst: ad erúm ueniam docte átque astu[te],
Pauxíllatim pollícitabor pro cápite argentum, ut sím liber.
R., ll. 927–929.

This would be *manumission* of the slave.

Jonson:

Mam. . . .
Lungs, I will *manumit* thee from the furnace;
I will restore thee thy complexion, Puffe,
Lost in the embers; and repair this brain,
Hurt with the fume o' the metals.

[1] Symonds, J. A., Ben Jonson, 1888. Cf. Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Ben Jonson, 1889.

. . . . . .

Mam. Lungs, I will set a period
To all thy labours; thou shalt be the master
Of my seraglio.

The Alchemist, A. II, s. 1.

Again:

Mam. This is the day, wherein, to all my friends,
I will pronounce the happy word, *Be rich;*
This day you shall be spectatissimi.
. . . . . .
You shall start up young viceroys,
. . . This night, I 'll change
All that is metal, in my house, to gold:
And, early in the morning, will I send
To all the plumbers and the pewterers,
And buy their tin and lead up; and to Lothbury
For all the copper.
Sur. What, and turn that too?
Mam. Yes, and I 'll purchase Devonshire and Cornwall,
And make them perfect Indies! You admire now?

Sur. No, faith.
. . . . . .
Mam. Ha! why?
Do you think I fable with you? &c.
. . . . . .
Mam. Pertinax [my] Surly,

GR:

Iam ubí liber er<o>, igitúr demum instrúam agrum atque aedis, máncipia:
Nauíbus magnis mercáturam faciam: ápud reges rex pérhibebor.
Post ánimi causa míhi nauem faciam átque imitabor Strátonicum,
Oppída circumuectábor.
Vbi nóbilitas mea erít clara,
Oppídum magnum communíbo:
Ei ego úrbi Gripo indám nomen,
Moniméntum meae famae ét factis,
Ibi quí regnum magnum ínstituam.
Magnás res hic agito ín mentem
Instrúere.

R., l. 930 *sqq.*

Mr. Riley suggests that this is wonderfully like Alnaschar's reverie in the Arabian Nights, so aptly quoted in the *Spectator*.[1]

[1] The Comedies of Plautus. Trans. by Henry Thomas Riley, Vol. II, p. 106, Note 2.

Again I say to thee, aloud, Be rich.
This day, thou shalt have ingots; and, tomorrow,
Give lords th' affront.
. . . . . .
Mam. For I do mean
To have a list of wives and concubines,
Equal with Solomon.
The Alchemist, A. II, s. 1.

The Case is Altered is indebted to Plautus for almost the entire plot. It is perhaps the only one, for no other play by Jonson draws so largely from the Plautine comedies. We have found scenes, episodes, allusions, and direct quotations which are evidently Plautine, in other comedies, but the plot is still Jonson's invention.

This comedy, which should have stood, had chronology only been consulted, at the head of Jonson's works, for in 1598 it was already a popular piece and bears many marks of juvenility about it, was first printed in quarto, in 1609.

But, according to Gifford,[1] it must have been written at least ten or twelve years previously, as it is familiarly spoken of by Nash in his *Lenten Stuff*, which appeared in 1599: "It is not right, of the merry cobbler's cutte in that witty play of 'the Case is altered.'"[2] Ben Jonson was now recent from the Roman writers of comedy, and, in this pleasant piece, both *Plautus* and *Terence* are laid under frequent contribution.[3]

[1] Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, VI, 320. Cf. Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 347, Note 9.

[2] Nash, Lenten Stuff, p. 68. Vgl. auch das Weitere a. a. O.

[3] Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, I, xxxiv. Cf. Reinhardstoettner Karl von, Plautus, p. 347, Note 9.

" Der gelehrte Ben Jonson," says Mr. von Reinhardstoettner, " steht in seinem Stücke *The Case is Altered* auf dem Boden der *Aulularia* und *Captivi.*[1] . . . Eine äusserst gelungene Kontamination zweier plautinischer Stücke, der *Aulularia* und der *Captivi* ist in dem englischen Lustspiele *The Case is Altered* enthalten, welches Ben Jonson zugeschrieben wird." [2]

There is a considerable degree of ingenuity in the construction of this lively comedy. Dunlop thinks Jonson probably found the plot of the *Aulularia* too simple for his purpose, and he praises him for the dexterity with which he has contrived to interweave that of the *Captivi* with it, so as to form a consistent whole.[3]

The *Aulularia* gives the portrait of a miser, and is considered to be one of the best of the Plautine comedies, both in execution and in plot.[4] The *Captivi* is a pathetic piece, without female characters or love intrigue, and without active interest (*stataria*), though well constructed and enlivened by the character of the parasite.[5]

" Lassen wir alle nicht hierher gehörigen Episoden, so besonders den trefflichen Schuhflicker Juniper und seine Gesellschaft, so vertritt uns das Haus des Geizhalses Jaques de Brie die *Aulularia*, jenes des Count Ferneze die *Captivi.* Die szene ist nach Mailand verlegt." [6] Mr. von Reinhardstoettner gives the following, as a direct copy from the *Captivi* : " Count Ferneze hat einen Sohn verloren,[7]

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 79.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

[3] Dunlop, Hist. of Roman Literature, I, 172. Cf. Ussing, II, 459. Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, VI, 421.

[4] Teuffel-Schwabe, Hist. of Roman Lit. Tr. by Geo. C. W. Warr, 1891, I, p. 135.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 347.

[7] *Ibid.*

'I had one other, younger born than this,
By twice so many hours as would fill
The circle of a year, his name Camillo,
Whom in that black and fearful night I lost,
('T is now a nineteen years agone at least)
It was that night wherein the great Chamont,
The general for France, surprised Vicenza.'[1]

Dort wurde nach seiner Annahme sein Sohn von Soldaten ermordet."

The lines in the *Captivi*, from which this is taken, are:

TYN. . . . pérdidi unum fílium,
Puerúm quadrimum quém mihi seruos súrpuit,
Neque eúm seruom umquam répperi neque fílium:
Maiór potitus hóstiumst. quod hoc ést scelus?
Quasi in órbitatem líberos prodúxerim. ll. 759–763.

Mr. von Reinhardstoettner again quotes Gifford[2]: "Das weitere Interesse nehmen die Gefangenen, ganz nach Plautus, in Anspruch: 'The whole incident of Paulo Ferneze's being taken prisoner on the one side, and Charmont and Camillo on the other, with the exchanging of their names, and Camillo's being left for Chamont, is taken from the *Captivi* of Plautus.'[3]

"Chamont und Camillo—genannt Gasper—sind wie Philokrates und Tyndarus, aufrichtige Freunde, und Chamont kann sagen:

'How may I bless the time wherein Chamont,
My honour'd father, did surprise Vicenza,
Where this my friend (known by no name) was found,
Being then a child, and scarce of power to speak,

[1] Jonson, Ben, *The Case is Altered*, A. I, s. 2.
[2] Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, VI, 397.
[3] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 349. Cf. Whalley.

To whom my father gave this name of Gasper,
And as his own respected him to death.' "[1]

A comparison of the *Captivi* and the *Aulularia* with *The Case is Altered*, although lengthy, is necessary in showing the dependence of the latter on the former.

As Chamont and Camillo are the Philocrates and Tyndarus of the Plautine comedy, so Count Ferneze answers to Hegio, and Pacue to Aristophontes :

[*Enter a Messenger.*]
Mes. See, here 's the Count Ferneze,
I will tell him
The hapless accident of his brave son,
That he may seek the sooner to redeem him.—
God save your lordship !
Count F. You are right welcome, sir.
Mes. I would I brought such news as might deserve it.
Count F. What ! bring you me ill news ?
Mes. 'T is ill, my lord,
Yet such as usual chance of war affords,
And for which all men are prepared that use it,
And those that use it not but in their friends,
Or in their children.
Count F. Ill news of my son,
My dear and only son, I'll lay my soul !

Seni huíc fuerunt fílii natí duo :
Altérum quadrimum púerum seruos súrpuit
Eumque hínc profugiens uéndidit in Álide
Patri †huiusce : iam hóc tenetis ? óptumumst.
Cp. Prologus, ll. 7–10.
Is póstquam hunc emit, dédit eum huic gnató suo
Pecúliarem, quía quasi una aetás erat.
Hic núnc domi seruit suó patri nec scít pater.
Ibid., ll. 19–21.
Ratiónem habetis quómodo unum amíserit.
Postquám belligerant Aétoli cum | Áleis,
Vt fít in bello, cápitur alter fílius.
Medicús Menarchus émit ibidem in Alide.
Coepít captiuos cómmercari hic Áleos,

[1] Jonson, Ben, *The Case is Altered*, A. IV, s. 2. Cf. Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, p. 349.

Ah me accurs'd! thought of his death doth wound me,
And the report of it will kill me quite.
Mes. 'T is not so ill, my lord.
Count F. How then?
Mes. He 's taken prisoner, and that is all.
Count F. That is enough, enough;

. . . . . .

Is Maximilian taken prisoner too?
Mes. No, good my lord; he is return'd with prisoners.

. . . . . .

Count F. O, in what tempests do my fortunes sail!
Still wrack'd with winds more foul and contrary
Than any northern gust, or southern flaw,
That ever yet inforced the sea to gape,
And swallow the poor merchants' traffic up.
First in Vicenza lost I my first son,
Next here in Milan my most dear-loved lady,
And now my Paulo prisoner to the French;
Which last being printed with my other griefs,
Doth make so huge a volume, that my breast
Cannot contain them.

. . . . . .

Siquém reperire pósset, qui mutét suom
—Illúm captiuom: hunc súom esse nescit quí domist—
Et quóniam heri indaudíuit de summó loco
Summóque genere cáptum esse equitem | Áleum,
Nil prétio parsit fílio dum párceret:
Recónciliare ut fácilius possét domum
Emít hosce e praeda ámbos de quaestóribus.
Ibid., ll. 23–34.
Enim uéro di nos quási pilas hominés habent.
Ibid., l. 22.
Homúnculi quantí sunt, quom recógito.)
Ibid., l. 51.
HE. pérdidi unum fílium,

Puerúm quadrimum quém mihi seruos súrpuit,
Neque eúm seruom umquam répperi neque fílium:
Maiór potitus hóstiumst.
ll. 759–762.
HE. Habe módo bonum animum. nam íllum confidó domum
In hís diebus mé reconciliás-sere.
Nam eccum híc captiuom aduléscentem <intus> Áleum
Prognátum genere súmmo et summis dítiis:

Mes. My lord, since only money may redress
The worst of this misfortune, be not grieved ;
Prepare his ransom, and your noble son
Shall greet your cheered eyes with the more honour.
Count F. I will prepare his ransom ; gracious heaven
Grant his imprisonment may be his worst,
Honour'd and soldier-like imprisonment,
And that he be not manacled, and made
A drudge to his proud foe !
The Case is Altered. Act III, s. 1.

Max. Gentlemen, (I would call an emperor so,) you are now my prisoners ; I am sorry ; marry this, spit in the face of your fortunes, for your usage shall be honourable.
Cam. We know it, signior Maximilian ;
The fame of all your action sounds nought else
But perfect honour, from her swelling cheeks.
Max. It shall do so still, I assure you, and I will give you reason : there is in this last action, you know, a noble gentleman of our party, and a right valiant, semblably prisoner to your

Hoc íllum me mutáre confidó pote.
ll. 167–171.
HE. Aduórte animum sis tu : ístos captiuós duos
Herí quos emi dé praeda a quaestóribus,
Is índito caténas singulárias
Istás, maiores quíbus sunt iuncti démito.
ll. 110–113.
LOR. Si di ímmortales íd uoluerunt uós hanc aerumnam éxsequi,
Decet íd pati animo | aéquo : si id faciétis, leuior lábos erit.
Domi fuístis credo líberi :
Nunc séruitus si euénit, ei uos mórigerari mós bonust
†Eamque et erili império ingeniis uóstris lenem réddere.
ll. 195–199.
HE. . . . híc captiuom aduléscentem <intus> Áleum
Prognátum genere súmmo et summis dítiis :
Hoc íllum me mutáre confidó pote.
ll. 169–171.
<HE.> Quó de genere nátust illic Phílocrates?
PHIL. Polyplúsio :
Quód genus illi[c] est únum pollens átque honoratíssumum.
HE. Quíd ipsus hic? quo honórest illic? PHIL. Súmmo atque ab summís uiris.
ll. 277–279.

general, as your honour'd selves to me; for whose safety this tongue has given warrant to his honourable father, the count Ferneze. You conceive me?

Cam. Ay, signior.

Max. Well, then I must tell you your ransoms be to redeem him. What think you? your answer.

Cam. Marry, with my lord's leave here, I say, signior,
This free and ample offer you have made
Agrees well with your honour, but not ours;
For I think not but Chamont is as well born
As is Ferneze; then, if I mistake not,
He scorns to have his worth so underprised,
That it should need an adjunct in exchange

Of any equal fortune. Noble signior,
I am a soldier, and I love Chamont;
Ere I would bruise his estimation
With the least ruin of mine own respect
In this vile kind, these legs should rot with irons,

This body pine in prison, till the flesh

HE. Fílius meus íllic apud uos séruit captus Álide:
Eúm si reddis míhi, praeterea únum nummum né duis,
Ét te et hunc amíttam hinc—alio pácto abire nón potes.

TYN. Óptumum atque aequíssumum oras óptumusque hominum és homo.

ll. 330–333.

TYN. Fécit officium híc suom,
Quóm tibist conféssus uerum: quám <quam> uolui sédulo
Meám nobilitatem óccultare et génus et diuitiás meas,
Hégio: nunc quándo patriam et líbertatem pérdidi.

ll. 297–300.

TYN. Tám ego fui ante líber quam gnatús tuos:
Tám mihi quam illi líbertatem hostílis eripuít manus.

ll. 310, 311.

TYN. Égo patri meo ésse fateor súmmas diuitiás domi
Méque summo génere gnatum: séd te optestor, Hégio,
Né tuom animum auáriorem fáxint diuitiaé meae:
Né patri, tametsi únicus sum, †decere uideatúr magis
Mé saturum seruíre apud te súmptu et uestitú tuo
Pótius quam illi ubi mínume honestumst méndicantem uíuere.

ll. 318–323.

TYN. Dum ne ób malefacta péream, parui exístumo.

Dropt from my bones in flakes, like wither'd leaves,
In heart of autumn, from a stubborn oak.

Max. Monsieur Gasper, (I take it so is your name,) misprise me not; I will trample on the heart, on the soul of him that shall say I will wrong you: what I purpose you cannot now know, but you shall know, and, doubt not, to your contentment.— Lord Chamont, I will leave you, whilst I go in and present myself to the honourable count; till my regression, so please you, your noble feet may measure this private, pleasant, and most princely walk. — Soldiers, regard them and respect them. [*Exit.*

Pac. O ver bon! excellenta gull, he taka my lord Chamont for monsieur Gaspra, and monsieur Gaspra for my lord Chamont. Oh dis be brave for make a me laugha, ha, ha, ha! O my heart tickla. [*Aside.*

Si ego híc peribo, ast ílle ut dixit nón redit,
At erít mi hoc factum mórtuo memorábile,
<ME> méum erum captum ex séruitute atque hóstibus
Reducém fecisse líberum in patriam ád patrem,
Meúmque potius mé caput períclo
Praeóptauisse quam ís periret pónere.
ll. 682–688.

HE. Edepol rém meam
Cónstabiliui, quom íllos emi dé praeda a quaestóribus:
. . . . . .
Át etiam dubitáui hosce homines émerem an non emerém diu.
. . . . . .
†ego apparebó domi.
Ád fratrem modó captiuos álios inuisó meos:
ll. 452–458.

HE. Sinito ámbulare, sí foris si intús uolent:
Sed uti ádseruentur mágna diligéntia.
ll. 114, 115.

AR. Ímmo iste eum sese aít qui non est ésse et qui uerést negat.
l. 567.

AR. Quid est?
Vt scelestus, Hégio, nunc íste <te> ludós facit.
Nám is est seruos ípse neque praetér se umquam ei seruós fuit.
ll. 578–580.

Cam. Ay, but your lordship knows not what hard fate
Might have pursued us, therefore, howsoe'er,
The changing of our names was necessary,
And we must now be careful to maintain
This error strongly, which our own device
Hath thrust into their ignorant conceits;
For should we (on the taste of this good fortune)
Appear ourselves, 't would both create in them
A kind of jealousy, and perchance invert
Those honourable courses they intend.

Cha. True, my dear Gasper; but this hang-by here
Will, at one time or other, on my soul,
Discover us. A secret in his mouth
Is like a wild bird put into a cage,
Whose door no sooner opens, but 't is out,—
But, sirrah, if I may but know thou utter'st it—
Pac. Uttera vat, monsieur?
Cha. That he is Gasper, and I true Chamont.
Pac. O pardonnez moy, 'fore my tongue shall put out de

[PHIL.] † Cópia est ea fácitis nos cómpotes.
Sécede huc núnciam, sí uidetúr, procul,
Ne árbitri dícta nostra árbitrarí queant
Neú permanét palam haec nóstra fallácia.
Nám doli nón doli súnt, ni<si> astú colas:
Séd malum máxumum, si íd palam próuenit.
Nam sí erus tu mi es átque ego me tuom ésse seruom assímulo,
Tamen uíso opust, cautóst opus, ut hoc sóbrié sineque árbitris
Accúrate [hoc] agátur, docte ét diligénter.
Tanta íncepta rés est: haud sómniculóse hoc
Agéndumst. TYN. Ero út me uolés esse. PHIL. Spéro.
<TYN.> Nam tú nunc uidés pro tuó caro cápite
Carum ófferre <mé> meum capút uilitáti.
ll. 217–230.
HE. Libér captiuos áuis ferae consímilis est:
Semél fugiendi sí datast occásio,
Satis ést—numquam postílla possis prénderе.
ll. 116–118.
AR. Hégio, uide sís, nequid tu huic témere insistas crédere:

secreta, shall breed de cankra in my mouth.

Cam. Speak not so loud, Pacue.

Pac. Foh! you shall not hear de fool, for all your long ear. Regardez, monsieur: you be Chamont, Chamont be Gaspra.

. . . . . .

Max. True, my honourable lord, that Chamont was the father of this man.

Count F. O that may be, for when I lost my son,
This was but young, it seems.

Fran. Faith, had Camillo lived,
He had been much about his years, my lord.

Count F. He had indeed! Well, speak no more of him.

Max. Signior, perceive you the error? 't was no good office in us to stretch the remembrance of so dear a loss. Count Ferneze, let summer sit in your eye; look cheerfully, sweet count; will you do me the honour

Átque ut perspició, profecto iám aliquid pugnae édidit:
Fílium tuom quód redimere se aít, id ne utiquam míhi placet.

ll. 584–586.

AR. . . . ego te, Phílocrates
Fálse, faciam ut uérus hodie réperiare Týndarus.
Quíd mi abnutas? TYN. Tíbi ego abunto?

ll. 609–611.

AR. Éx me audibis uéra quae nunc fálsa opinare, Hégio.

l. 619.

. . . . . .

Vt istic Philocratés non magis est quam aút ego aut tu.

l. 623.

HE. . . . ís quidem huius ést pater Phílocrati.

ll. 974, 975.

PHIL. Quám diu id factúmst?
STAL. Hic annus íncipit uicénsumus.

l. 980.

ERG. Gaúde. HE. Quid ego gaúdeam? ERG. Quia ego ímpero: age gaudé modo.

to confine this noble spirit within the circle of your arms?

Count F. Honour'd Chamont, reach me your valiant hand;
I could have wish'd some happier accident
Had made the way unto this mutual knowledge,
Which either of us now must take of other;
But since it is the pleasure of our fates,
That we should thus be rack'd on fortune's wheel,
Let us prepare with steeled patience
To tread on torment, and with minds confirm'd,
Welcome the worst of envy.
Max. Noble lord, 't is thus. I have here, in mine honour, set this gentleman free, without ransom: he is now himself, his valour hath deserved it, in the eye of my judgment.— Monsieur Gasper, you are dear to me: *fortuna non mutat genus.* But, to the main;—if it may square with your lordship's liking, and his love, I could desire that he were now instantly employed to your

HE. † Pol maerores mihi anteuortunt gaudiis.
[ERG. Noli irascier.]
ERG. Iám ego ex corpore éxigam omnis máculas maerorúm tibi:
Gaúde audacter. HE. Gaúdeo, etsi níl scio quod gaúdeam.
ll. 839–842.
ERG. Cédo manum. HE. Manúm? ERG. Manum, inquam cédo.
l. 838.
HE. Núnc hoc animum aduórte, ut ea quae séntio paritér scias.
Fílius meus íllic apud uos séruit captus Álide:
Eúm si reddis míhi, praeterea únum nummum né duis,
Ét te et hunc amíttam hinc — alio pácto abire nón potes.
TYN. Óptumum atque aequíssumum oras óptumusque hominum és homo.
ll. 329–333.

TYN. fortúna humana fíngit artatque út lubet.
l. 304.
TYN. Né uereare: meó periclo huíus ego experiár [uice] fidem

noble general in the exchange of Ferneze for yourself! it is a business that requires the tender hand of a friend.

Frétus ingenio eíus, quod me esse scít sese erga béniuolum.

ll. 349, 350.

HE. Probus és homo.

l. 427.

<TYN.> Nam tú nunc uidés pro tuó caro cápite
Carum ófferre <mé> meum capút uilitáti.

ll. 229, 230.

TYN. Faciam, sed te id oro, Hégio— . . .
Ausculta, túm scies.
Égo me amitti dónicum ille huc rédierit non póstulo:
Vérum, te quaeso, [ut] aéstumatum hunc míhi des quem mittam ád patrem,
Vt is homo redimátur illi.

ll. 337–341.

Count F. Ay, and it would be with more speed effected, If he would undertake it.

TYN. Húnc mitte, hic †omne transactum réddet, si illuc uénerit.
Néque quemquam fidéliorem néque quoi plus credát potes
Míttere ad eum néque qui magis sit séruos ex senténtia,
Néque adeo quoi tuóm concredat fílium hodie audácius.

ll. 345–348.

Max. True, my lord.—Monsieur Gasper, how stand you affected to this motion?

Cha. My duty must attend his lordship's will.

HE. Míttam equidem istunc aéstumatum tuá fide, si uís.

l. 351.

HE. At quam prímum †poteris: istuc ín rem utriquest máxume.

l. 398.

Max. What says the lord Chamont?
Com. My will doth then approve what these have urged.
Max. Why there is good harmony, good music in this. Monsieur Gasper, you shall protract no time, only I will give you a bowl of rich wine to the health of your general, another to the success of your journey, and a third to the love of my sword. Pass. [*Exeunt.*
A. III, s. 3.

Cha. Sweet Gasper, I am sorry we must part;
But strong necessity enforces it.
Let not the time seem long unto my friend,
Till my return; for, by our love I swear,
(The sacred sphere wherein our souls are knit,)
I will endeavour to effect this business
With all industrious care and happy speed.

Cam. My lord, these circumstances would come well

HE. Míttam equidem istunc aéstumatum tuá fide, si uís.
TYN. Volo.
Quám citissumé potest, tam hoc †cédere ad factúm uolo.
ll. 351, 352.
HE. Di uostrám fidem.
Hóminum ingenium líberale! ut lácrumas excutiúnt mihi!
Vídeas corde amáre inter se: qúantis † laudauit
Súom erum seruos cónlaudauit.
ll. 418–421.

TYN. . . . inter nós fuisse ingénio haud discordábili,
Néque te commeruísse culpam néque te aduorsatúm mihi
Béneque ero gessísse morem in tántis aerumnís tamen,
Néque med umquam déseruisse té neque factis néque fide
Rébus in dubiís, egenis.
ll. 402–406.
PHIL. Féci ego ista ut commémoras et te méminisse id gratúmst mihi.
† Merito tibi ea euenerunt á me: nam nunc, Phílocrates,
Sí ego item memorém quae me erga múlta fecistí bene,
Nóx diem adimat.
ll. 414–417.
<PHIL.> Phílocrates, [PHIL.] ut adhúc locorum féci, faciam sédulo:

To one less capable of your desert
Than I; in whom your merit is confirm'd
With such authentical and grounded proofs.

Vt potissumúm quod in rem récte conducát tuam
Íd petam † id persequarque córde et animo atque aúribus. ll. 385–387.

Cha. Well, I will use no more. Gasper, adieu.
Cam. Farewell, my honour'd lord.
Cha. Commend me to the lady, my good Gasper.
Cam. I had remember'd that, had not you urged it.
Cha. Once more adieu, sweet Gasper.
Cam. My good lord. [*Exit.*
Cha. Thy virtues are more precious than thy name;
Kind gentleman, I would not sell thy love.
For all the earthly objects that mine eyes
Have ever tasted. Sure thou art nobly born,
However fortune hath obscured thy birth;
For native honour sparkles in thine eyes.
How may I bless the time wherein Chamont,
My honour'd father, did surprise Vicenza,
When this my friend (known by no name) was found,
Being then a child, and scarce of power to speak,

PHIL. Béne uale. l. 452.
TYN. Bene ámbulato. *Ibid.*

TYN. Bene ámbulato. *Ibid.*
PHIL. Béne uale. *Ibid.*

To whom my father gave this name of Gasper,
And as his own respected him to death:

Since when we two have shared our mutual fortunes

With equal spirits, and, but death's rude hand,
No violence shall dissolve this sacred band. [*Exit.*
A. IV, s. 2.

Max. Nay, but sweet count.

Count F. Away! I 'll hear no more;
Never was man so palpably abused:—
My son so basely marted, and myself
Am made the subject of your mirth and scorn.
Max. Count Ferneze, you tread too hard upon my patience; do not persist, I advise your lordship.
Count F. I will persist, and unto thee I speak;
Thou, Maximilian, thou hast injured me.
. . . . . .
Pac. By gar, me shall be hang for tella dis same; me tella mademoiselle, she tell her fadera.

STAL. . . . post uos índidistis Týndaro. l. 984.
AR. Phílocrates iam inde úsque amicus fuít mihi a pueró puer. l. 645.
TYN. Quam illí quicum una <a> púero aetatem exégeram? l. 720.
PHIL. . . . nam ís mecum a pueró puer
Béne pudiceque éducatust úsque ad adulescéntiam.
ll. 991, 992.
PHIL. . . . hic séruos, qui te huic híuc quadrimum súrpuit,
Véndidit patrí meo te séx minis. is té mihi
Páruolum pecúliarem páruolo pueró dedit. ll. 1011–1013.
HE. Vérba mihi data ésse uideo. l. 651.
HE. †Satin me illi hodié scelesti cápti ceperúnt dolo?
Íllic seruom se ássimulabat, híc sese autem líberum.
ll. 653, 654.
Íta mi stolido súrsum uorsum os súbleuere offúciis. l. 656.

AR. (*aside*) Pro di ínmortales: núnc ego teneo, núnc scio
Quid hoc sít negoti.
ll. 697, 698.

Count F. The true Chamont
set free, and one left here
Of no descent, clad barely in
his name!
Sirrah, boy, come hither and
be sure you speak the simple
truth.
Pac. O pardonnez moy, mon-
sieur.
Count F. Come, leave your
pardons and directly say,
What villain is the same that
hath usurp'd
The honour'd name and per-
son of Chamont.
Pac. O, monsieur, no point
villain, brave chevalier,
monsieur Gasper.

Count F. Monsieur Gasper!
On what occasion did they
change their names,
What was their policy, or their
pretext?
Pac. Me canno tell, par ma
foy, monsieur.
Max. My honourable lord!
Count F. Tut, tut, be silent.
. . . . . .
Fetch forth that Gasper, that
lewd counterfeit;
I 'll make him to your face
approve your wrongs.

AR. Sed hóc mihi aegrest
me huíc dedisse operám
malam,
Qui núnc propter me méaque
uerba uínctus est.
ll. 701, 702.
HE. Núculeum amisí, reliqui
pígneri putámina. l. 655.

HE. Eho, díc mihi,
Quís illic igitur ést? AR.
Quem dudum díxi a prin-
cipió tibi.
Hóc si secus repéries, nullam
caúsam dico, quín mihi
Ét parentum et líbertatis
ápud te deliquió siet.
ll. 623–626.
HE. Sátin istuc mihi éx-
quisitumst, fuísse hunc ser-
uom in Álide

Néque esse hunc Philocratém?
ll. 638, 639.

HE. Cólaphe, Cordalió,
Corax,
Íte istinc, [atque] ecférte lora.
ll. 657, 658.

[*Enter Servants with Camillo.*

Come on, false substance, shadow to Chamont,
Had you none else to work upon but me?
Was I your fittest project? well, confess
What you intended by this secret plot,
And by whose policy it was contrived.
Speak truth, and be intreated courteously;
But double with me, and resolve to prove
The extremest rigour that I can inflict.

Cam. My honour'd lord, hear me with patience;
Nor hope of favour, nor the fear of torment,
Shall sway my tongue from uttering of truth.

Act IV, s. 5.

. . . . . .

[*Enter Slaves with thongs for Tyndarus.*

HE. Inícite huic manicas ⏑ ⏑ — mastígiae.

l. 659.

HE. Satór sartorque scélerum et messor máxume.

l. 661.

HE. † At ut confidenter mihi contra ástitit.

l. 664.

HE. Quia mé meamque rém, quod in te unó fuit,
Tuís scelestis fálsidicis fallácíis
† Delácerauisti deártuauistíque opes,
Confécisti omnis rés ac rationés meas.
Ita mi éxemisti Phílocratem fallácíis.
Illum ésse seruom crédidi, te líberum:
Ita uósmet aiebátis itaque nómina
Intér uos permutástis. TYN. Fateor ómnia
Facta ésse ita ut <tu> dícis et fallácíis
Abísse eum abs te méa opera atque astútia.

ll. 670–679.

Note similarity in following:

Count F. Speak truth, and be intreated courteously;
But double with me, and resolve to prove

<HE.> Sí eris uerax, tua éx re facies † éx mala meliúsculam.

The extremest rigour that I can inflict.

Act IV, s. 5.

Cam. . . . be assured
Chamont's return will . . .

Count F. Return! ay, when? when will Chamont return?
He 'll come to fetch you, will he? ay, 't is like!
You 'd have me think so, that 's your policy.
No, no, young gallant, your device is stale;
You cannot feed me with so vain a hope.
Cam. My lord, I feed you not with a vain hope;
I know assuredly he will return,
And bring your noble son along with him.
Max. Ay, I dare pawn my soul he will return.
Count F. O impudent derision! open scorn!
Intolerable wrong! is 't not enough
That you have play'd upon me all this while,
But still to mock me, still to jest at me?
Fellows, away with him: thou ill-bred slave,
That sett'st no difference 'twixt a noble spirit
And thy own slavish humour, do not think

Récte et uera, lóquere.

ll. 959–960, also l. 968:

Sí eris uerax, <éx> tuis rebus féceris meliúsculas.
TYN. . . . Si ille húc rebitet, sícut confido áffore.

l. 696.

HE. Nunc cértumst nulli pósthac quicquam crédere:
Satis súm semel decéptus. sperauí miser
Ex séruitute me éxemisse fílium:
Ea spés elapsast.

ll. 756–759.

HE. néminis
Miserére certumst, quía mei miseret néminem.

ll. 764, 765.

TYN. At únum hoc quaeso, si húc rebitet Phílocrates,
Vt mi éius facias cónueniundi cópiam.

ll. 747, 748.

HE. Ad íllum modúm sublitum ós esse mi hódie:
Neque íd perspicere quíui.
Quod quóm scibitúr, † per úrbem inridébor.

ll. 783–785.

HE. (*To the slaves*). dúcite,
Vbi pónderosas crássas capiat cómpedes:
Inde íbis porro in látomias lapidárias.

But I 'll take worthy vengeance on thee, wretch.
Cam. Alas, these threats are idle, like the wind,
And breed no terror in a guiltless mind.

Count F. Nay, thou shalt want no torture, so resolve ;
Bring him away.
Cam. Welcome the worst, I suffer for a friend,
Your tortures will, my love shall never, end.
Act. IV, s. 5.

Count F. Tut, Maximilian, for your honour'd self
I am persuaded ; but no words shall turn
The edge of purposed vengeance on that wretch :
Come bring him forth to execution.—
[*Enter Servants with Camillo bound.*

Ibi quom álii octonos lápides effodiúnt, nisi
Cottídiano sésquiopus conféceris,
Sescéntoplago nómen indetúr tibi.
ll. 721–726.

TYN. Períclum uitae meaé tuo stat períclo.
Post mórtem in morte níl est quod metuám mali.
Et sí peruiuo usque ád summam aetatém, tamen
Breue spátiumst perferúndi quae minitás mihi.
ll. 740–743.

HE. . . . Nam nóctu neruo uínctus custodíbitur,
Intérdius sub térra lapides éximet.
Diu ego húnc cruciabo, nón uno absoluám die.
ll. 729–731.

HE. Abdúcite.
l. 746.

See above—ll. 742, 743.

HE. Abdúcite istum actútum ad Hippolytúm fabrum,
Iubéte huic crassas cómpedes inpíngier :
Inde éxtra portam ad meúm libertum Córdalum
In lápicidinas fácite deductús siet.
Atque húnc me uelle dícite ita curárier,

Nequí deterius huíc sit quam quoi péssumest.
ll. 733–738.

I 'll hang him for my son, he shall not 'scape,
Had he a hundred lives. Tell me, vile slave,
Think'st thou I love my son? is he my flesh?
Is he my blood, my life? and shall all these

TYN. Nam cógitato, síquis hoc gnató tuo
Tuos séruos faxit, quálem haberes grátiam?
Emítteresne nécne eum seruóm manu?
Essétne apud te is séruos acceptíssumus?
Respónde. HE. Opinor.
ll. 711–715.

Be tortured for thy sake, and not revenged?
Truss up the villain.

HE. Abdúcite.
l. 746.

HE. Perístis, nisi iam hunc é conspectu abdúcitis.
l. 749.

Max. My lord, there is no law to confirm this
action: 't is dishonourable.

AR. Per deós atque homines égo te obtestor, Hégio,
Ne tu ístunc hominem pérduis. HE. Curábitur.
ll. 727, 728.

Count F. Dishonourable, Maximilian!
It is dishonourable in Chamont:
The hour of his prefixed return is past,
And he shall pay for it.

TYN. Sed quíd negotist? quam ób rem suscensés mihi?
HE. Quia mé meamque rém, quod in te unó fuit,
Tuís scelestis fálsidicis falláciis
†Deláceravistí deártuavistíque opes,
Confécisti omnis rés ac rationés meas.
Ita mi éxemisti Phílocratem falláciis.
ll. 669–674.

Cam. My lord, my lord,
Use your extremest vengeance; I 'll be glad
To suffer ten times more for such a friend.
. . . . . .
Count F. Now they have young Chamont, Christophero,
Surely they never will restore my son.
. . . . . .

Count F. O thou base wretch,
I 'll drag thee through the streets;
And as a monster make thee wonder'd at.—
Enter Balthasar.]
How now? [*Balthasar whispers with him.*
Count F. How! my son return'd! O Maximilian,
Francisco, daughters! bid him enter here.

Dost thou not mock me?—

. . . O, my dear Paulo, welcome.
. . . . . .

Cha. Is this the true Italian courtesy?
Ferneze, were you tortured thus in France?
By my soul's safety—

TYN. Óptumest:
At erúm seruaui, quém seruatum gaúdeo,
Quoi mé custodem addíderat erus maiór meus.
ll. 706–708.
AR. Séd ubi is nunc est? HE. Vbi ego minume atque ípsus se uolt máxume.
Tum ígitur ego derúncinatus, deártuatus súm miser
Huíus scelesti téchinis, qui me ut lúbitumst ductauít dolis. ll. 640–642.
TYN. Vis haéc quidem herclest, ét trahi et trudí simul.
l. 750.

Enter Ergasilus.]

HE. Vénit? ERG. *Naὶ τὰν Σιγνίαν.*
<HE.> Cérton? ERG. *Naὶ τὰν Φρονόινωνα.* HE. Víde sis— ll. 882, 883.
HE. Díc, bonan fidé tu mi istaec uérba dixistí? ERG. Bona. l. 890.
HE. Iouí deisque agó gratiás merito mágnas,
Quom té reducém tuo patrí reddidérunt. ll. 922, 923.
HE. Nólim suscensére, quod ego irátus ei fecí male.
PHILOCR. Quíd fecisti? HE. In lápicidinas cónpeditum cóndidi,

Count F. My most noble lord. [*Kneels.*

I do beseech your lordship.
Cha. Honour'd count,
Wrong not your age with flexure of a knee.

I do impute it to those cares and griefs
That did torment you in your absent son.
Count F. O worthy gentleman, I am ashamed

That my extreme affection to my son
Should give my honour so uncured a maim;
But my first son being in Vicenza lost—
Cha. How! in Vicenza! lost you a son there?
About what time, my lord?
Count F. O, the same night
Wherein your noble father took the town.
Cha. How long 's that since, my lord, can you remember?

Count F. 'T is now well nigh upon the twentieth year.

Cha. And how old was he then?

Vbi resciui míhi data esse uérba. PHILOCR. Vae miseró mihi:
Própter meum capút labores hómini euenisse óptumo. HE. Át ob eam rem míhi libellam pró eo argenti né duis:
Grátiis a me út sit liber [a] dúcito. PHILOCR. Edepol, Hégio,
Fácis benigne. séd quaeso hominem ut iúbeas arcessí.

HE. Licet.
Vbi | estis, uos? íte actutum, Týndarum huc arcéssite.
ll. 943–950.
See above, l. 942 *sqq.*
HE. pérdidi unum fílium,
Puerúm quadrimum quém mihi seruos súrpuit,
Neque eúm seruom umquam répperi neque fílium:
Maiór potitus hóstiumst. quod hoc ést scelus?
ll. 759–762.
HE. Hic gnatúm meum
Tuó patri ait se uéndidisse séx minis in Álide.
PHIL. Quám diu id factúmst? STAL. Hic annus íncipit uicénsumus.
PHIL. Fálsa memorat. STAL. Aút ego aut tu: nám tibi quadrímulum
Tuós pater pecúliarem páruolo pueró dedit.

Count F. I cannot tell;
Between the years of three and four, I take it.
. . . . . .
Cha. How did you call your son, my lord?
Count F. Camillo, lord Chamont.
Cha. Then, no more my Gasper, but Camillo.
Take notice of your father.—Gentlemen,
Stand not amazed; here is a tablet,
With that inscription, found about his neck,
That night and in Vicenza, by my father,
Who, being ignorant what name he had,

Christen'd him Gasper; nor did I reveal
This secret, till this hour, to any man.
Count F. O happy revelation! O blest hour!
O my Camillo!
. . . . . .
Count F. O, my boy.

Forgive thy father's late austerity.

A. V, s. 4.

PHIL. Quíd erat ei nomén? si uera dícis, memoradúm mihi.
STAL. Paégnium uocitátust: post uos índidistis Týndaro.
ll. 978–984.
PHIL. Sálue, Tyndare.
l. 1009.
PHIL. Át nunc liber ín diuitias fáxo uenies: nám tibi
Páter hic est: hic séruos, qui te huic hínc quadrimum súrpuit,

Véndidit patrí meo te séx minis. is té mihi
Páruolum pecúliarem páruolo pueró dedit.
†Íllic indicium fécit: nam hunc ex Álide huc redúcimus. ll. 1010–1014.
PHIL. Núnc tibi pater hic ést. hic fur est tuós qui paruom hinc te ábstulit.
l. 1018.
HE. Et miser sum et fórtunatus, †si uera dicitis. l. 993.

HE. <O> salue, éxoptate gnáte mi. l. 1006.
HE. Eó miser sum, quía male illi féci, si gnatúst meus.
Eheu, quom ego plús minusue féci quam <me> aequóm fuit.
Quód male feci, crúcior: modo si infféctum fieri póssiet.
ll. 994–996.

The *Captivi* introduces no female characters, yet in tenderness and amiability it is not surpassed by any other Plautine comedy. It is not marred by the blemishes and vulgarities, which the popular fancy craved. The absence of these characteristics is deemed an excellence, even by the author of the prologue and epilogue. But the fundamental moral elements are of the highest class, illustrating especially parental love and faithful friendship. These elements impart to the comic framework and structure touches which soften and temper its exuberant mirth. The pathetic and the comic elements are exquisitely intermingled.

Jonson has admirably caught and imitated this spirit, largely by retaining the simplicity, directness, and spontaneity of the Plautine play. He was guided, perhaps, by the reflection of Hegio in the *Captivi*,

HE. Nón ego omninó lucrum omne esse útile homini exístumo:
Scío ego, multos iám lucrum lutuléntos homines réddidit.
Ést etiam ubi profécto damnum praéstet facere quám lucrum.
Ódi ego aurum : múlta multis saépe suasit pérperam.
ll. 325–328.

to make a selection of that play (*i. e.*, the *Aulularia*) whose *plot* would illustrate, in its most repulsive form, a love for gold. It was a plot which, interwoven with the *Captivi*, would afford a perfect contrast, and give the light and shade necessary to a well constructed comedy. The *Captivi* was considered by Lessing to be the best piece which had ever been presented on the stage.

"Richtig ist," says Mr. von Reinhardstoettner, "dass Ben Jonson die Figur der Rachel neu geschaffen hat," [1] and he quotes Gifford as saying : "The charac-

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 350.

ter of Rachel is exquisitely drawn : she is gentle and modest, yet steady, faithful and affectionate. Nothing less than this was requisite to justify the number of her admirers, Onion, Christophero, Angelo, Paulo and the count, his father ; all, in short, who see her, solicit her love. Jonson derived *no assistance from Plautus* in this part of his plot; for the young lady who corresponds to Rachel is not seen at all, nor indeed heard except on one occasion. One pretty trait of her, however, is given by the Lar [1] (v. 23) :

'LAR FAMILIARIS: éa mihi cottídie
Aut túre aut uino aut áliqui semper súpplicat :
Dat míhi coronas.' "

This is quite true as far as it relates to the young woman in the Plautine comedy making her appearance on the stage. It is well known that there is not the slightest trace that the honorable daughter of an honorable citizen ever appears on the stage, in any of the Plautine plays. The women who appeared on the stage, in the time of Plautus, belonged to the meretrix class. The custom touched closely the sentiments of the old Romans in this respect, as may be seen in the following passage from the *E.* :

PE. Cáue siris cum fília
Mea cópulari hanc néque conspicere. iám tenes ?
In aédiculam istanc sórsum concludí uolo :
Diuórtunt mores uírgini longe ác lupae.
AP. Docte ét sapienter dícis. num <quam> nímis potest
Pudicítiam quisquam suaé seruare fíliae.

ll. 400–405.

But, although I accept this, I cannot agree with Gifford in the statement that *Jonson had no assistance*

[1] Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, VI, 409. Cf. Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 350, Note 2.

from Plautus in this part of his plot. The character of Rachel corresponds to the picture brought to our minds by the words of the Lar in the Prologue, quoted above, and the words of Megadorus :

MEG. uérba ne faciás, soror.
Scío quid dicturá's : hanc esse paúperem : haec paupér placet.
Au. ll. 173, 174.
MEG. Fíliam tuám mi uxorem pósco : l. 219.
EVC. At nil est dótis quod dem. MEG. Né duas.
Dúm modo moráta recte uéniat, dotatást satis.
ll. 238, 239.

Again the first sentiment uttered by Rachel in *The Case is Altered*,

> *Rach.* No! is your presence nothing?
> I shall want that, and wanting that, want all;
> For that is all to me. A. I, s. 3.

is strikingly like the following in the *Am.* of Plautus :

AL. Sola híc mihi nunc uídeor, quia ílle hinc abést, quem ego amó praeter ómnes.
Plus aegri ex abitu uiri quam ex aduentu uoluptatis cepi :
ll. 640, 641.

"Jonson hatte den Prolog des Lar familiaris im Sinne, als er die einleitenden Worte seinem Jaques de Brie in den Mund legte. Er besitzt eine wunderschöne Tochter :

> ' But now, this maid is but supposed my daughter ;
> For I being steward to a lord of France,
> Of great estate and wealth, called lord Chamont,
> He gone into the wars, I stole his treasure ;
> And this his daughter, being but two years old,
> Because it loved me so, that it would leave
> The nurse herself, to come into mine arms.' "[1]
> *The Case is Altered*, A. II, s. 1.

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 347.

Whalley says of this character [1] :

" The character of Jaques is formed upon that of Euclio in the *Aulularia* of Plautus ; and is drawn with that masterly expression which distinguishes the works of Jonson. The scene between Christophero and Jaques, and the following scene with the Count, is copied from what passes between Euclio and Megadorus, but with so high an improvement, that it determines the palm of applause in favour of our author. The original here is :

'Nón temerariúmst, ubi diues blánde appellat paúperem.' " [2]

Note the following parallel passages in *The Case is Altered* and the *Au :*

Enter Jaques.]

Pau. Here comes her father. — How dost thou, good Jaques?

Ang. God save thee, Jaques!

Iaq. What should this mean? —Rachel! open the door. [*Exit.*

Ang. S'blood how the poor slave looks [aghast], as though
He had been haunted by the spirit, Lar ;
. . . . . .

MEG. Égo conueniam Eúclionem, sí domist.
Séd eccum * :
ll. 176, 177.
. . . . . .
MEG. Sáluos atque fórtunatus, Eúclio, sempér sies.
EVC. Dí te ament, Megadóre.
ll. 182, 183.
EVC. Sed quíd ego apertas aédis nostras cónspicor?
Et strépitust intus. númnam ego compilór miser?
ll. 388, 389.

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 348, Note 1.
[2] Whalley. Cf. Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, VI, 367.

Pau. I muse he spake not;
Belike he was amazed, coming so suddenly,
And unprepared.—Well, let us go.
A. I, s. 1.

MEG. sed ubi hi[n]c ést homo?
Ábiit neque me cértiorem fécit.
ll. 244, 245.

"Der zweite Akt führt uns in Jaques' Haus. Wir lernen in dem Monologe einen verbitterten Geizhals kennen, der unter der Marke eines stadtbekannten Bettlers seinen Reichtum verbirgt." [1]

Enter Jaques.]
So, now enough, my heart, beat now no more;

EVC. Nunc défaecato démum animo egrediór domo,
Postquám perspexi sálua esse intus ómnia.
ll. 79, 80.

At least for this affright. What a cold sweat
Flow'd on my brows, and over all my bosom!
Had I not reason? to behold my door

EVC. Dí me seruant, sálua re<s> est: †saluum est, siquid non perit.
Nímis male timuí. prius quam intro rédi<i>, exanimatús fui. ll. 207, 208.
See above, ll. 388, 389.

Beset with unthrifts, and myself abroad?
Why, Jaques! was there nothing in the house

STA. Quíppini?
Ego íntus seruem? an néquis aedes aúferat?
Nam hic ápud nos nil est áliud quaesti fúribus:
Ita iníni<i>s sunt óppletae atque aráneis.
ll. 81–84.

Worth a continual eye, a vigilant thought,
Whose head should never nod, nor eyes once wink?

STA. Peruígilat noctes tótas: tum autem intérdius
Quasi claúdus sutor dómi sedet totós dies.
ll. 72, 73.

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 347.

Look on thy coat, my thoughts, worn quite threadbare,
That time could never cover with a nap,
And by it learn, never with naps of sleep
To smother your conceits of that you keep.
But yet, I marvel why these gallant youths
Spoke me so fair, and I esteem'd a beggar!

EVC. Nam núnc quom celo sédulo omnis, né sciant,
Omnés uidentur scíre et me benígnius
Omnés salutant quám salutabánt prius.
Adeúnt, consistunt, cópulantur déxteras:
Rogitánt me, ut ualeam, quíd agam, quid rerúm geram.

ll. 113–117.

The end of flattery is gain, or lechery:

EVC. Nón temerariúmst, ubi diues blánde appellat paúperem.
Iam íllic homo aurum scít me habere, eo mé salutat blándius.

ll. 184, 185.

If they seek gain of me, they think me rich;
But that they do not: for their other object,

EVC. Núnc petit, quom póllicetur: ínhiat aurum ut déuoret.

l. 194.

Némini credó qui large blándust diues paúperi.
Vbi manum inicít benigne, ibi ónerat aliquam zámiam.

ll. 196, 197.

'T is in my handsome daughter, if it be:
. . . . . .

EVC. Vírginem habeo grándem, dote cássam atque inlocábilem,

Well, then, it is for her; ay,
't is sure for her:
. . . . . .
That I might live alone once
with my gold!
O, 't is a sweet companion!
kind and true;
. . . . . .
. . . But I must abroad.—
Rachel!

Néque eam queo locáre quoiquam.
ll. 191, 192.

These two lines are probably taken from the speech of Euclio on the recovery of his gold (found in the Supplement of certain old editions. It was written by Antonius Codrus Urceus, a learned scholar and professor at Bologna.

EVC. Nunc défaecato démum
animo egrediór domo,
Postquám perspexi sálua esse
intus ómnia.
ll. 79, 80.

"Da er sich von Hause entfernen muss, giebt er seiner Tochter Rachel Verhaltungsmassregeln. Sie soll das Thor offen lassen und laut sprechen, als seien Leute im Hause, um Diebe ferne zu halten. Mit Euklio (v. 91) befiehlt er:

'Put out the fire, kill the chimney's heart,
That it may breathe no more than a dead man.'" [1]

Enter Rachel.]

Rach. What is your pleasure, sir?

Jaq. Rachel, I must abroad.

Lock thyself in, but yet take
out the key;
That whosoever peeps in at
the key-hole
May yet imagine there is none
at home.

Rachel is represented here by *Styphyla.*

EVC. Redi núnciam intro atque íntus serua. STA. Quíppini? 1. 81.

EVC. Abi íntro, occlude iánuam: iam ego híc ero.
Caue quémquam alienum in aédis intromíseris. ll. 89, 90.

EVC. Profécto in aedis meás me absente néminem
Volo íntromitti. atque étiam hoc praedicó tibi,

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 347.

Rach. I will, sir.

Jaq. But hark thee, Rachel: say a thief should come,

. . . . . .

Put out the fire, kill the chimney's heart,
That it may breathe no more than a dead man;
The more we spare, my child, the more we gain.
[*Exeunt.*

A. II, s. 1.

Si Bóna Fortuna uéniat, ne intromíseris. ll. 98–100.

STA. Nam hic ápud nos níl est áliud quaesti fúribus. l. 83.

EVC. Nam si ígnis uiuet, tu éxtinguere extémp<u>lo. l. 93.

EVC. Deinde égomet mecum cógitare intéruias
Occépi: festo dié siquid prodégeris,
Profésto egere líceat, nisi pepérceris.
Postquam hánc rationem uéntri cordique édidi,
Accéssit animus ád meam senténtiam. ll. 379–383.

" Die schöne Rachel hat unterdessen an dem Haushofmeister des Grafen, Christophero, einen neuen Verehrer gewonnen, und der Graf ist mit seiner Werbung gänzlich einverstanden, nich ahnend, dass sein Sohn Paolo Rachel de Brie liebt.[1] Der dritte Akt spielt wieder in Jaques' Haus und damit in der *Aulularia*.[2]

" Kaum sieht Jaques Leute, so eilt er ins Haus:

> ' He has been at my door, he has been in,
> In my dear door; pray God my gold be safe!'

Wie Euklio kömmt er alsbald wieder befriedigt zurück:

> ''T is safe, 't is safe, they have not robb'd my treasure.'

Bei Christopheros werbung vermutet er, wie Euklio dem Megadorus gegenüber, dass er kenntnis von seinem Schatz habe:

> ' My gold is in his nostrils, he has smelt it,'

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 348.
[2] *Ibid.*

und freudig eilt er, sowie er den Freier angebracht hat, zu seinem Gelde:

> ' So ! he is gone ; would all were dead and gone,
> That I might live with my dear gold alone.' " [1]

Jaq. . . . pray God my gold be safe !	EVC. Dí me seruant, sálua re<s>est : †saluum est, siquid non perit. 1. 207.
. . . Rachel ! ho, Rachel !	EVC. . . . heus, Staphyla, té uoco. 1. 269.
Chris. God save you, honest father.	MEG. Sáluos atque fórtunatus, Eúclio, sempér sies.
	EVC. Dí te ament, Megadóre. ll. 182, 183.
Jaq. Rachel ! odslight, come to me ; Rachel ! Rachel ! [*Exit.*	EVC. Ei miseró mihi. Aúrum mi intus hárpagatumst. núnc hic eam rem uólt, scio, Mécum adire ad páctionem : uérum interuisám domum. [*Exit.* ll. 200–202.
Chris. Now in God's name what ails he ? this is strange !	MEG. Quó abis ? . . . l. 203.
He loves his daughter so, I 'll lay my life	MEG. Crédo edepol, ubi méntionem ego fécero de fília,
That he 's afraid, having been now abroad,	Mi út despondeát, sese a me dérideri rébitur.
I come to seek her love unlawfully.	Néque illo quisquamst álter hodie ex paúpertate párcior. ll. 204–206.
Re-enter Jaques.]	
Jaq. 'T is safe, 't is safe, they have not robb'd my treasure. [*Aside.*	EVC. . . . sálua re<s>est : †saluum est, siquid non perit. 1. 207.
Chris. Let it not seem offensive to you, sir.	MEG. Quid tu ? récten atque ut uís ualés ?

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 348.

Jaq. *Sir!* God's my life, *sir! sir!* call me *sir!* [*Aside.*

Chris. Good father, hear me.

MEG. Dá mi operam parúmper, si operaest, Eúclio, id quod té uolo
Dé communi re áppellare mea ét tua. ll. 199, 200.

Jaq. You are most welcome, sir;
I meant almost: and would your worship speak,
Would you abase yourself to speak to me?

Chris. 'T is no abasing, father; my intent
Is to do further honour to you, sir,
Than only speak; which is, to be your son.

Jaq. My gold is in his nostrils, he has smelt it;
. . . . . .
He knows my gold, he knows of all my treasure— [*Aside.*

EVC. (*aside*). Nón temerariúmst, ubi diues blánde appellat paúperem. ll. 183, 184.

MEG. Aín tu te ualére? l. 186.

EVC. Némini credó qui large blándust diues paúperi.

Vbi manum inicít benigne, ibi ónerat aliquam zámiam. ll. 196, 197.

EVC. Héia, Megadore, haúd decorum fácinus tuis factís facis. l. 220.

EVC. Vénit hoc mi, Megadóre, in mentem, té<d> esse hominem díuitem,
Fáctiosum, mé item esse hominem paúperum paupérrumum. ll. 226, 227.

MEG. Quóniam tu me et égo te qualis sís scio:
Quaé res recte uórtat mihique tíbique tuaeque fíliae,
Fíliam tuám mi uxorem pósco: promitte hóc fore. ll. 217–219.

EVC. (*aside*). Aurum huíc olet. l. 216.

EVC. (*aside*). Iam íllic homo aurum scít me habere, eo mé salutat blándius. l. 185.

EVC. Crédo ego illum iam ín<d>audisse míhi esse thensaurúm domi:

How do you know, sir? whereby do you guess?
Chris. At what, sir? What is it you mean?
Jaq. I ask,
An't please your gentle worship, how you know—
I mean, how I should make your worship know
That I have nothing—
To give with my poor daughter? I have nothing:
The very air, bounteous to every man,
Is scant to me, sir.

Chris. I do think, good father, You are but poor.
Jaq. He thinks so; hark! but thinks so.

He thinks not so, he knows of all my treasure.
[*Aside and exit.*
Chris. Poor man, he is so overjoy'd to hear

Íd inhiat, ea affínitatem hanc óbstinauit grátia.
ll. 266, 267.

EVC. (*aside*). Tam hic scít me habere quam égomet.
l. 548.

EVC. Meám pauperiem cónqueror.
Vírginem habeo grándem, dote cássam atque inlocábilem,
Néque eam queo locáre quoiquam. ll. 190–192.
EVC. At nil est dótis quod dem. l. 238.
EVC. Cur igitur póscis meam gnatám tibi? l. 224.
EVC. Eó dico, ne mé thensauros répperisse cénseas. l. 240.
STR. Quin quom ít domitum, fóllem obstringit ób gulam.
ANTH. Cur? STR. Néquid animae fórte amittat dórmiens. ll. 302, 303.
MEG. Nóui: ne doceás. l. 241.
MEG. Cérte edepol equidém te ciuem síne mala omni málitia
Sémper sum arbitrátus et nunc árbitror. ll. 215, 216.
(This may have *suggested* to Jonson *Jaques'* speech.)
MEG. sed ubi hi[u]c ést homo?

His daughter may be past his hopes bestow'd.
That betwixt fear and hope, if I mean simply,
He is thus passionate.

Re-enter Jaques.]

Jaq. Yet all is safe within.
. . . . . .

Chris. What say you, father, shall I have your daughter?

Jaq. I have no dowry to bestow upon her.

Chris. I do expect none, father.
Jaq. That is well.
. . . . . .

Jaq. So! he is gone; would all were dead and gone,
That I might live with my dear gold alone!

Enter Count Ferenze.]

Count F. Here is the poor old man.
Jaq. Out o' my soul, another! comes he hither?
Count F. Be not dismay'd, old man, I come to cheer you.

Jaq. To me, by heaven!

Ábiit neque me cértiorem fécit: ll. 244, 245.
. . . si opulentus ít petitum paúperioris grátiam,
Paúper metuit cóngredi<ri>.
pér metum male rém gerit. ll. 247, 248.

Re-enter Euclio.]

EVC. . . . sálua re<s>est: l. 207.

MEG. Quíd nunc? etiam míhi despondes fíliam? l. 255.

EVC. At nil est dótis quod dem. l. 238.

EVC. Illis légibus,
Cúm illa dote quám tibi dixi. ll. 255, 256.

MEG. Né duas. l. 238.

EVC. Fíat. l. 241.

EVC. Ílic hinc abiit. di ímmortales, óbsecro, aurum quíd ualet. l. 265.

MEG. Nó[ui]stin hunc senem Eúclionem ex próxumo paupérculum? l. 171.

MEG. Táce: bonum habe animum, Eúclio:
. . . adiuuábere a me. ll. 192, 193.

EVC. Máne, mane: quis

. . . . . .
One comes to hold me talk, while t' other robs me.
[*Aside and exit.*
Count F. He has forgot me, sure; what should this mean?
He fears authority, and my want of wife
Will take his daughter from him to defame her:
He that has nought on earth but one poor daughter,
May take this extasy of care to keep her.
A. III, s. 1.

illic ést? quis hic intus álter erat tecúm simul?
Périi hercle: ille nunc íntus turbat. ll. 655, 656.

See above, ll. 244, 245, where the situation and thought are similar.

See above, ll. 204–206.

The remainder of this scene is not found in the Plautine comedy. The next scene begins with the soliloquy of Jaques, and his removal of the gold to a new hiding-place. Mr. von Reinhardstoettner says:

"Jaques vergräbt sein Gold im Dünger. Gifford in der ihm eigenen Verherrlichung Ben Jonsons meint (vi, 372): 'This is from Plautus, where Euclio also removes his gold to a new hiding-place. The speeches of the two misers, however, have no circumstance in common; nor has the Latin poet anything that can be set in comparison with this admirable and characteristic soliloquy of Jaques.' Diesem Urteil kann gewiss niemand beipflichten. Die halbphilosophischen Reflexionen Jaques', gegenüber dem einfachen Euklio, der sein Geld der Fides anvertraut, sind wenig wirkungsvoll." [1]

When Gifford said the two speeches have "no circumstance in common," he could not have borne in

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, pp. 348, 349.

mind the following parallel passages found elsewhere in the Plautine play, which Jonson has cleverly woven into Jaques' soliloquy :

Jaq. He 's gone : I knew it ; this is our hot lover.	EVC. Íllic hinc abiit. di ím-mort<al>es, fácinus audax íncipit
I will believe them, I ! they may come in	Quí cum opulento paúper homine †coepit rem habere aut negótium,
Like simple wooers, and be arrant thieves,	Vélut<i>Megadorús temptat me ómnibus miserúm mo-dis :
And I not know them !	Quí simulauit méi | honoris míttere huc causá coquos :
A. III, s. 2.	Ís ea causa mísit hoc qui súb-riperent miseró mihi.
	ll. 460–464.

It must be admitted, also, that there is a suggestion in the fact that Jaques conceals his gold in the ground, covering it with dung, just as Euclio had concealed his gold before its removal to the temple. There can be no question but that Jonson depended on Plautus for this suggestion.

We next meet with Jaques in his encounter with Juniper. Mr. von Reinhardstoettner says : " Über seinem Gelde entdecken Juniper und Onion den Alten und holen sich nach seiner Entfernung den Schatz." [1]

" This, too, is from the *Aulularia*, where Strobilus gets up into a tree to watch Euclio. The motive, however, is different. In Plautus the discovery of the treasure is the prime object, in Jonson's comedy it is merely incidental, and forms no necessary part of the plot. Rachel might have obtained a husband, had

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 350.

Jaques been as poor as every one thought him; whereas the Lar kindly informs us in the prologue that the treasure was expressly bestowed on Euclio, that he might be enabled to give a marriage portion with his daughter to a youth of quality, who, as the stage custom was, *eam compresserat.*" [1]

"Die weiteren Szenen bei Jaques sind wieder der *Aulularia* entnommen, insgesamt dem Inhalte, oft auch dem Wortlaute nach: so z. *B.*:

'*Jaq.* Shew me thy hands, what hast thou in thy hands?
Jun. Here be my hands.'" [2]

Whalley says: "This scene is an imitation of that in which Strobilus is examined by the miser. But its pleasantries are within the bounds of nature; and severer judgment instructed Jonson not to outrage his characters, as Plautus did before him. Jaques examines both the hands of Juniper, but he does not, like Euclio, bid him produce his third hand. . . . No degree of avarice could lead one to suppose that a man has three hands." [3]

Jaq. . . . Rachel! thieves! thieves! Stay, villain, slave! [*Seizes Jun. as he is running out.*	EVC. Redi, quó fugis nunc? téne, tene. 1. 415.
. . . . .	
Jun. I pray you, sir.	Similarity in Supplement of old editions.
. . . . .	(*Ditto.*)
Jun. For God's sake hear me speak, keep up your cur. A. IV. s. 4.	

[1] Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, VI, 389.
[2] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 349.
[3] Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, VI, 390.

There is also similarity in the following lines :

Jaq. Well then deliver; come, deliver, slave.
Jun. What should I deliver?

Jaq. O thou wouldst have me tell thee, wouldst thou?

Shew me thy hands, what hast thou in thy hands?
Jun. Here be my hands.

. . . . . .

Jaq. . . . Put off thy shoes; come, I will see them; give me a knife here, Rachel, I'll rip the soles.

. . . . . .

Jun. What, are you mad, are you detestable? would you make an anatomy of me?

. . . . . .

Jaq. Soft, sir, you are not yet gone; shake your legs, come; and your arms, be brief:—

. . . . . .

Iaq. Heart, thou art somewhat eased, half of my fear
Hath ta'en his leave of me. . .
. . . Friend, why art not gone?

EVC. Redde huc sis. 1. 634.

STR. Quíd tibi uis reddám? 1. 634.
EVC. Rog[it]as? 1. 634.
STRO. Quíd ergo ponam? quín tu eloquere [EVC.] quídquid est suo nómine. 1. 639.
EVC. Ostende húc manus. 1. 640.
STR. Ém tibi, ostendi: éccas. EVC. Video. age óstende etiam tértiam. 1. 641.
EVC. Áge-dum, excutedum pállium. 1. 646.
EVC. Ne ínter tunicas hábeas. 1. 647.
An opposite stand is now taken by Strobilus, who says:
STR. Tuo árbitratu. 1. 647.
Tempta quá lubet. 1. 647.
STR. Insánis: perscrutátus es. 1. 653.

EVC. age rúsum | ostende húc manum
Déxt<e>ram. ll. 649, 650.

EVC. Póstremo hunc iam pérscrutaui: níl habet. abi quó lubet. 1. 657.
EVC. Íbo intro atque illí socienno tuó iam interstringám gulam.

Avoid, my soul's vexation! Satan, hence! Why dost thou stare on me? why dost thou stay, ... Hence from my house.	Fúgin hinc ab oculís? abin [hinc] an non? ll. 659, 660.

" Im fünften Akte trifft frohe Nachricht ein. Paolo kehrt zurück. Zugleich aber entdeckt Jaques den Diebstahl.

> ' Thou hast made away my child, thou hast my gold :
> O what hyena call'd me out of doors?
> The thief is gone, my gold 's gone, Rachel 's gone,'

und später dann :

> ' My gold, my gold, my wife, my soul, my heaven!
> What is become of thee?'

" Das Ganze endet natürlich zu allgemeiner Zufriedenheit, wobei das Wort *The Case is Altered* eine grosse Rolle spielt. Der gefesselte Camillo erweist sich als des Grafen sohn durch ein Medaillon (a tablet) mit einem ' silver globe ' und der Inschrift *In minimo mundus.* Jaques bekehrt sich zu dem Grundsatze ' Ill-gotten goods ne'er thrive.' Er hiess Melun, und Rachel ist Isabel, Chamonts Schwester. Paolo erhält Rachels Hand, Chamont die Aurelias, der Tochter des Grafen Ferneze. Richtig ist, dass Ben Jonson die Figur der Rachel neu geschaffen hat ; doch wird der Schurke Jaques allzu glimpflich behandelt, da der Graf die beiden Räuber, Juniper und Onion, strenge bestrafen lässt :

> ' Keep the knaves sure, strict inquisition
> Shall presently be made for Jaques' gold,
> To be disposed at pleasure of Chamont,'

während Chamont gnädig zu Jaques sagt :

> ' Melun, I pardon thee ; and for the treasure,
> Recover it, and hold it as thine own.' "[1]

It is quite likely that Jonson was indebted to the supplement (as the closing scenes of the *Aulularia* had been lost during the Middle Ages), for the delivery of the gold to Chamont, although in Jonson's comedy the gold is finally restored to Jaques. The sudden change in Jaques' character, as, also, in the character of Euclio (in the supplement to the *Aulularia*), has met with considerable criticism. But this is a charge which cannot be attributed to Plautus.

Ben Jonson had also in mind the *Aulularia* when he wrote *The Devil is an Ass*.[2] We must remember that the *Aulularia* was performed at Cambridge in the year 1564, and was a much talked of play in Jonson's boyhood. Whalley commends the copy highly, and apparently would sacrifice the original to it, and we concede that Jonson's comedy is much the richer in circumstance.

Like all of his works, *The Silent Woman* illustrates the constructive ability of the author, rather than the laws of artistic growth from within. We cannot watch it expanding like a comedy of Aristophanes. We can see how it has been put together, and yet the structure is so artistic, that the connection of each part seems inevitable. The unities are strictly, yet naturally preserved, and the skill with which the characters are introduced has deservedly won highest praise from Dryden. It does not, like Volpone, expose a ruling

[1] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, pp. 350, 351.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 348, Note 1. Cf. Ed. Gifford, Ben Jonson, V, 50 u., hier S.

vice—perhaps beyond the comic poet's lawful scope [1]—but it exhibits a ludicrous personal peculiarity in the main actor. We are permitted to enter a sphere of comical foibles and mirth-provoking eccentricities of humor.

On Morose's horror of noise each succeeding incident hinges, and it forms the motive for the various humors of the minor characters. *The Silent Woman* is rather a Titanic farce than a true comedy. Dryden claims that Jonson studied the fantastic character of Morose from a real person, although Gifford has traced it to a passage in *Libanius*. Mr. von Reinhardstoettner says: "Rapp vermutet, dass auch in seiner *Epicoene*, or *The Silent Woman* (gespielt 1609), wo gleichfalls ein Knabe (ἐπιχοινή) als Braut vermählt wird, der gelehrte Ben Jonson vielleicht an des Plautus *Casina* gedacht habe. Es soll nich widersprochen werden. Die umfassende Kenntnis des Altertums, welche Ben Jonson an den Tag legt, mag bewusst und unbewusst seine Schöpfungen beeinflusst haben. Gerade dieses Stück ist reich an Imitationen der Alten, speziell des Plautus und Terenz, worauf Upton und Gifford hinweisen. Und so mag allerdings Sir Dauphine Eugenies List: 'You have married a boy, a gentleman's son, that I have brought up this half year at my great charges and for this composition, which I have now made with you,' eingegeben sein von Plautus [2]:

'Misérrumum hodie ego húnc habebo amásium.'" 1. 590.

The Silent Woman calls only for interior scenes,[3] and

[1] Symonds, J. A., Shakespeare's Predecessors, English Worthies. Ben Jonson, 1884, p. 87.

[2] Reinhardstoettner, Karl von, Plautus, 1886, p. 390.

[3] Harvard Graduate Monthly, Vol. III, p. 493.

the problem is how to secure a noiseless wife.[1] It is not in the plot, as a whole, nor in the underplot, that we find parallel passages to the Plautine plays, but in isolated episodes, single ideas, etc. The following from the *Au.* ll. 173, 174,

MEG. uérba ne faciás, soror.
Scío quid dicturá's: hanc esse paúperem: haec paupér placet,

is thus imitated by Jonson:

Mor. . . . I know what thou wouldst say, she 's poor, and her friends deceased. She has brought a wealthy dowry in her silence. A. II, s. 3.

Again:

<MA.> Víden tu illi<c> oculós uirere? ut uíridis exoritúr colos
Éx temporibus átque fronte: ut óculi scintillánt uide.
Mn., ll. 828, 829.

Epi. Lord, how idly he talks, and how his eyes sparkle! he looks green about the temples! do you see what blue spots he has! A. IV, s. 2.

Epicoene feigns that Morose is afflicted with madness, while the wife of Menaechmus and her father really believe that the latter is insane. Although the thought and spirit are the same in this scene in both plays, the language is, on the whole, different. Whatever may be affirmed of the influence of the *Casina* upon *The Silent Woman*, little *direct* influence, if any, can be pointed out; although there is a subtle and general idea of kinship, or sensation of similarity, impressed upon one as the two plays are read together.

[1] Symonds, J. A., Shakespeare's Predecessors, English Worthies. Ben Jonson, 1884, p. 87.

The episode of Mr. and Mrs. Otter, one of the low comedy scenes, broad and farcical in every way, is very similar to the closing scene in the *Asinaria*. And here we note the general unloveliness of the female character, as presented by both authors.

In *The Fox* we find just such an idea of hearing an ill report of one's self while lying concealed, as we find in the *Asinaria* and *The Silent Woman*:

Mos. . . . This very minute,
It is or will be doing; and, if you
Shall be but pleased to go with me, I 'll bring you,
I dare not say where you shall see, but where
Your ear shall be a witness of the deed;
Hear yourself written bastard, and profest
The common issue of the earth. A. III, s. 1.

PA. Manedúm. ART. Quid est? l. 877.
PA. Ém tibi hominem. ART. Périi. PA. Paulispér mane:
Aúcupemus éx insidiis clánculum quam rém gerant.
As., ll. 880, 881.

The argument adduced by True-wit against matrimony and wives in general, in A. II, s. 1, is simply a copy of the speech which Megaronides utters against doweried wives, in the *Aulularia* of Plautus, ll. 475–536, and the similar objections of Periplecomenus in the *Miles Gloriosus*, ll. 680–700. Again the arguments presented by Morose to the Mute, that he may induce her to regard the position which he holds out to her as his wife with favor, are very close translations from the comedies just mentioned.

A few remarks may be added with respect to *The Fox*, and *The Devil is an Ass*. The former is an excellent play, regarded with *The Alchemist* as the best of

the Jonsonian comedies. The division of the characters, sharply drawn, into two broad classes of the dupers and the duped, and the introduction of the parasite, Mosca—the veritable parasite of the old Latin comedy —as the pivot on which the play turns, are purely Plautine characteristics. Mosca's ingenious brain contrives and carries into effect the various intrigues for working on the gullibility of the creatures who are to be defrauded.

Generally in Jonson's plays there is one clever knave who attends to the execution of the intricacies of the plot. In *The Silent Woman*, it is Cutbeard ; it is Chamont and Juniper in *The Case is Altered ;* while in *Every Man in His Humour* it is Brainworm; and in *Volpone*, *The Fox*, it is Mosca. They are the old slaves of the Plautine comedies, and Jonson himself says :

> " I have only made it a
> little easy, and modern for the times, sir, that is all." [1]

As Plautus painted his characters with broad strokes after a stock-model, and always with a view to the dramatic effect, so Jonson not infrequently does likewise. Although in *Cynthia's Revels* he says :

> " In this alone, his Muse her sweetness hath,
> She shuns the *print of any beaten path ;*
> And proves new ways to come to learned ears :
> Pied ignorance she neither loves nor fears."
>
> *Prologue.*

Bobadill, the braggart-captain ; Kitely, the jealous husband; Old Knowell, the gulled father; Wellbred, the chum to Young Knowell, the profligate son; and Brainworm, the cunning servant, with Mosca, the ingenious parasite and slave,—form a group in modern

[1] Jonson, Ben, *Bartholomew Fair*, A. V, s. 3.

comedy whose originals are traceable, through the Plautine plays, to the stock characters of The New Attic Comedy.

The evidence of direct influence will be concluded with a comparison between an episode from the *Aulularia* and one from *The Devil is an Ass*, which is especially interesting.

Fitz. You hear, Devil,
Lock the street-doors fast, and let no one in,
Except they be this gentleman's followers,
To trouble me.
. . . . . .
Nor turn the key to any neighbour's need;
Be it but to kindle fire, or beg a little,
Put it out rather, all out to an ash,
That they may see no smoke. Or water, spill it;
Knock on the empty tubs, that by the sound,
They may be forbid entry. Say we are robb'd,
If any come to borrow a spoon or so;
I will not have *Good Fortune* or *God's Blessing*
Let in, while I am busy.
A. II, s. 1.

EVC. Abi íntro, occlude iánuam: iam ego híc ero.
Caue quémquam alienum in aédis intromíseris.
Au., ll. 89, 90.

EVC. Quod quíspiam ignem quaérat, extinguí uolo,
Ne caúsae quid sit quód te quisquam quaéritet.
Nam si ígnis uiuet, tu éxtinguere extémp<u>lo.
Tum aquam aúfugisse dícito, siquís petet.
Cultrúm, securim, pístillum, mortárium,
Quae uténda uasa sémper uiciní rogant,
Furés uenisse atque ábstulisse dícito.
Profécto in aedis meás me absente néminem
Volo íntromitti. atque étiam hoc praedicó tibi,
Si *Bóna Fortuna* uéniat, ne intromíseris.
Au., ll. 91–100.

The prevalent impression—partly traditional, partly acquired from reading the plays of Jonson and any one

or two of the Plautine comedies — that the later writer was indebted to the earlier, can be satisfactorily verified only by such a comparison of the passages most similar in verbal phrasing, as has here been attempted. Even when the words do not correspond, the spirit or idea is frequently noted, and the influence cannot be controverted.

The question which naturally presents itself on reading the play is perhaps unanswerable except from inference. Did Jonson, consciously or unconsciously, have in mind these passages of the Plautine plays when writing his comedies? That there is a general resemblance has not failed to present itself to the mind of the most casual reader. And the particular passages noted could not possibly have been the result of accident such as might arise from treating two subjects not wholly dissimilar. The references of contemporaneous writers, which may be relied upon as authoritative, are few in number and exceedingly meagre. We are forced to trust to our judgment, and to rely upon our individual and generally strong impression as to the extent of this similarity. That Jonson, by nature and education, was led to adopt the classical side of art, and to choose the ancients for his models, although firmly established, is, after all, merely incidental to the object in hand, *i. e.*, the giving of such proof of the direct influence of his study of the Plautine comedies as may be found in his works.

It is natural to suppose that Jonson, in searching for a model, would select the one who had the greatest reputation among the ancients, and consequently the one who exerted the greatest influence on posterity, both in early times and in Jonson's own age. It has been shown that Plautus not only had great reputation

in early times, but that he was the most popular of the ancient poets in the days of Shakespeare and Jonson.

If we take this in connection with those authoritative references which we have, we find ample justification for attempting a consistent comparison of those passages most similar in phrasing, in spirit and general idea, and for the collection of material to the end that it may serve as a basis for future investigation. The extent of the influence must remain largely, nevertheless, a matter of individual opinion.

In this comparison we find that, while following the development of idea as presented by Plautus, Jonson has frequently combined, repeated or introduced the thought in such a manner as to show the greatest skill in the treatment of his material. Indeed, he had too high an opinion of Horace, to disregard the advice of this eminent critic against an "over-anxiety to be literal, or a binding of one's self too strictly to the plan and character of the original."[1] "Jonson," as Drummond informs us, "entertained particular notions in regard to poetical translations, which led him to underrate some of those that still continue to be justly admired."[2] And yet Jonson does not wholly conceal, and apparently he has no definite intention of concealing, the source of his comedy.

In conclusion, we revert to the thought expressed so aptly by Mr. Henry Giles: "Humor is the soul of comedy; but humor, however genuine in essence, is in its manifestation extremely dependent on the day—on its manners, mode and fashion. Men who once had the power to set all Europe laughing can hardly now

[1] Horace, Epistula ad Pisones, ll. 133–135.

[2] Drummond, Wm., Notes on Ben Jonson's Conversations with Wm. Drummond. Shakespeare Soc., Jan., 1842, p. 2.

create a smile." [1] Jonson beyond a doubt, as Mr. Swinburne says, was a "better antiquarian than a dramatist," [2] yet he excelled in the quality of humor. And the very severity of his turn of mind aided him in seizing with the greatest precision the weaknesses of men, and in picturing them with a living likeness that is irresistible.

That he was recognized as a power in literature, we have abundant proof. The enthusiastic elegies of authors, which were published after his death, evidence the fact that he was a celebrity, and an honored author in his own day. His devotion to his ideas of art was exclusive, and he openly proclaimed himself a reformer. "No sooner," says Drake, "had he ventured on the stage with a comedy exclusively his own, than he aspired to the establishment of a Dramatic Literature in this province, which, while he should adhere to the structure of the classical model, might exhibit various and extensive views of human nature, and uniformly have for its object the correction of vice and folly, through the medium of unsparing satire." [3]

The new style proposed by him did not immediately gain favor. Popularity came to him gradually, and principally through his recognition by the great patrons of literature and of the stage.[4] But he arose to be the literary dictator and the leader of jovial society in London, where he ruled the undisputed favorite

[1] Giles, Henry, Human Life in Shakespeare, 1887.

[2] Swinburne, Algernon Charles, A Study of Ben Jonson, 1889.

[3] Drake, Nathan, Shakespeare and His Times, 1817, Vol. 2, p. 572.

[4] Memoirs of Ben Jonson, British Poets, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. (Riverside Ed.)

of the wits. "Those who deny to Ben wit, genius, and taste," says Gilchrist, "will not object to him want of learning, art, and judgment." [1] And "if in searching for accuracy, he lost his grasp of reality," it is for this reason, as Dr. Schelling says, "he is the best constructor of plot in our literature." [2] Jonson possessed two of the three elements constituting a good poet [3]— industry and judgment — and if he was not a genius, genius was not wholly lacking.

He numbered among his friends the leading literary men of the day, and he was a welcome member of the most polished circles of society. Jonson's own opinion of popularity we find in *Cynthia's Revels* :

> *Are.* True happiness
> Consists not in the multitude of friends,
> But in the worth and choice. Nor would I have
> Virtue a popular regard pursue:
> Let them be good that love me, though but few.[4]

How is it that Jonson in our time, like Plautus, has lost the place which he once held in the public estimation? It is that Jonson put into his dramas, just as Plautus did, the manners of his age. Like Plautus, he is one of the best, nay, the completest authority, we have for ascertaining the manners of the age in which he lived. He was a comic satirist, who attempted to strip the ragged follies of his time as naked as they were at their births, to show the time's deformity.

[1] Gilchrist, Octavius. An examination of the charges maintained by Messrs. Malone, Chalmers, and others of Ben Jonson's enmity, etc., toward Shakespeare, p. 29.

[2] Schelling, Felix E., Ph.D., Ben Jonson and the Classical School.

[3] Horace, Epistula ad Pisones.

[4] Jonson, Ben, *Cynthia's Revels*, A. III, s. 2.

What is characteristic of a particular period is not likely to give satisfaction in all ages, and he thereby fails to fulfill the highest conditions of art. Jonson's dramas have in them an excess of the individuality of their author, and he has suffered the fate of all those who have lashed successfully public follies—and who have, in a measure, with the follies they have destroyed, destroyed themselves.

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